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THE TRIAL

of the Treasonable Slovak Bishops

Ján Vojtaššák

Michal Buzalka

Pavol Gojdič

PRAGUE • ORBIS

1951

"Very shortly President Truman will name a new personal representative to the Vatican ...

"With announcement of the new envoy, Truman will send a special message to Congress spelling out why he is continuing the delegation and emphasizing the fact that the nation's need for a «listening post» in Rome is as great or greater than it has ever been.

"Whatever misgivings Truman might have had about representation in the Vatican for religious reasons, they were dispelled by the State Department's insistence that the job was essential to world-wide intelligence-gathering and by the arguments of two staunch Catholic friends: former Postmaster General Frank C. Walker and former Ambassador to Great Britain Joseph F. Kennedy."

From the American Magazine "Pathfinder"
(a fortnightly, published in Chicago, whose
circulation exceeds 1,200,000 copies), on March
22, 1950.

THE TRIAL

The First Day of the Trial

The public trial of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, Suffragan Bishop Th. Dr. Michal Buzalka and Bishop Pavol Gojdič, opened before the State Court in Bratislava on Wednesday, 10th January, 1951.

In the Senate of the State Court were sitting: President of the Senate Karol Bedrna, lay Judges Matej Župančič and Štefan Borš and professional Judges Václav Hamák and Pavel Korbuly. As reserve Judges were present: Ján Anđel as lay Judge and Dr. Jozef Buzna as professional Judge. The State Prosecutor was represented by Dr. Ján Feješ. Clerk of the Court: Dr. Anna Pojezná.

President: I declare open the public trial of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, Suffragan Bishop Dr. Michal Buzalka and Bishop Pavol Gojdič, in the State Court in Bratislava. I state, that the accused were summoned to the trial and that all three are present. I state, further, that the legal term for preparation from the delivery of the summons and the indictment to the accused has been observed. I further state, that as Counsels for the Defence are present here the solicitors: Dr. Štefan Král, defending the accused Ján Vojtaššák, Dr. Vojtech Rampášek, defending the accused Dr. Michal Buzalka and Dr. Ivan Ottlyk, defending the accused Pavol Gojdič.

After the ascertaining of personal data and particulars by the President of the Senate, the Prosecutor, Dr. Ján Feješ, delivered the indictment.

FROM THE STATE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE
IN BRATISLAVA.

To the State Court,

(To the President of the Senate)

Bratislava.

Bratislava, 2nd January, 1951.

INDICTMENT

The State Prosecutor accuses:

I. Ján Vojtaššák, born 14th November, 1877, in Zakamenné, Bishop, last address Spišské Podhradie, Spiš Chapter,

II. Th. Dr. Michal Buzalka, born 18th September, 1885, in Sv. Anton, Suffragan Bishop, last address 8, Kapitulská ulica, Bratislava,

III. Pavol Gojdič, born 17th July, 1888, in Ruské Peklany, Greek Catholic Bishop, last address 1, Stalinova ulica, Prešov,
all at present in custody,
of committing criminal deeds as set out in the indictment:

The Slovak people by their glorious National Uprising in August, 1944, rejected the traitorous policy of the Hlinkite adherents of Nazism, and showed their determination to live in a common state with the Czech nation. The final victory of the Soviet Army over the Nazi hordes, brought to both nations liberation from the yoke of Nazi Germany and made it possible for the first time in their history for the Czech and Slovak working people to take the government firmly into their own hands.

The Košice Government Programme guaranteed the independence of the Slovak nation and showed the way to abolish the age-old misery of the Slovak people, through the industrialisation of Slovakia. It guaranteed all constitutional freedoms and free-

dom of conscience and of religious creed. Therefore, the Slovak people enthusiastically welcomed the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic and worked devotedly for the restoration of their economy which had been ruined by the war.

On the other hand, the high Church hierarchy, both Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic, from the beginning took a hostile attitude towards the new State. This hostile attitude only confirms the anti-national and anti-social policy which the high Church hierarchy has always in the past, and especially during the First Republic and during the occupation, carried out against the Slovak people.

The high Church hierarchy, as a result of its great wealth, both of land estates and capital, has always supported the ruling, exploiting classes against the interests of the working people. Until the year 1918, in the period of social and national oppression, shortage of land, which meant lack of means of subsistence, compelled hundreds of thousands of Slovaks to leave the country and seek their living abroad. At this time the Slovak land was under the ownership of Hungarian big land-owning counts and of the Bishops whose huge land property covered 275,000 jutes of the best landed estates and was administered by them in a more un-Christian manner than by any other big land-owner. The high Church hierarchy, who lived in palaces and owned huge landed estates, misused the religious feelings of the Slovak people for their own ends, the maintaining of their rule and the rule of the Hungarian counts and capitalists. Through iron discipline and the threat of eternal damnation, they kept the ordinary Slovak people in submission.

Those priests, like Bernolák, Hollý, Palárik and Fándli, who remained faithful to their people, fought for their national and social demands and criticised the exploitation of working people on the ecclesiastical estates, got themselves into conflict, not only with the State regime, but also with the Bishops. When the workers' movement began to get organised in Slovakia, the Bishops right at the beginning came down on the side of the vicious and hateful enemies of the working class and, filled with the spirit of feudal despotism, helped to suppress its struggle for political rights and social progress. During the first world war, at the time of the decisive struggle of the Czech and Slovak nation for national and state independence, the high Church hie-

rarchy and the Vatican supported the Germany of the Emperor Wilhelm and the enslaving Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the pre-Munich Republic the high Church hierarchy, together with the monasteries and the ecclesiastical orders, owned 505,670 jutes of land in Slovakia. The high Church hierarchy, therefore, found a way of coming to agreement with the capitalists, regardless of national differences, in order to save their big estates and their power positions. In 1924 in order to help the Slovak and Czech bourgeoisie and the big land-owners in their fight against the working people, the Slovak Bishops published a Pastoral letter in which they threatened members of the Revolutionary Trade Union organisation with Church penalties.

During the parliamentary elections in 1920, the Hlinka People's Party, which by chauvinistic agitation masked its anti-popular policy, set up an election bloc together with the bourgeois Hungarian Party and Šrámek's Czech People's Party, against the socialist parties in Slovakia. The Bishops, in particular the accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, raved against the Soviet Union in political and ecclesiastical journals and misused for this purpose even their pulpits. In 1923 Bishop Vojtaššák published his book, "Whether a True Catholic can be a Social Democrat," which was full of lies and fabrications against the socialist movement and the Soviet Union.

The Vatican, which, after the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, never reconciled itself to the existence of the new Czechoslovak State and supported various criminal attempts at the restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy, never carried out the demarcation of the southern dioceses in Slovakia, according to our State frontiers, in spite of the fact that it was pledged to do so by the agreement of 1928. Thus, the Vatican enabled the Archbishop of Esztergom, who until February, 1948 owned 40,000 hectares of the best land in Slovakia, and who had also been an important personality in Horthy's Hungary, to influence our conditions with regard to the interests of Hungarian magnates like Pálffy, and others who, until the liberation in 1945, had held large properties in Slovakia.

The high Church hierarchy dragged, first of all the lower clergy and then through them, the ordinary Catholic believers, in tow of the treacherous, disruptive and anti-national policy carried out by the fascist leadership of the Hlinka Party. The accused, Voj-

taššák and Buzalka, in particular, misused their influence among the believers to promote the policy of this party. Under the pretext of protecting the interests of the Church and the faith, they fought against progress, Socialism and the working people, Vojtaššák as the close collaborator of Hlinka and leader of the right wing of his party, and Buzalka as the editor of "Slovák" and "Katolícké Noviny" and as propagandist. The high Church hierarchy on instructions from the Vatican, used the Hlinka Party to further the interests of their property and their power positions.

Through its disruptive policy the Hlinka Party prepared the ground for Munich. At the time of Munich it sold the Slovak people to Hitler and after the Munich events it exploited the difficult position in which the Republic found itself in order to break it up. By the Žilina agreement of 6th October, 1938, the political parties of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the big land-owners, handed over the governmental power in Slovakia to Hlinka's party and to the Hlinka Guard, thereby taking upon themselves the role of quartermasters of fascism in Slovakia. Hlinka's People's Party, whose backbone was the high Church hierarchy, consciously and deliberately on orders from Berlin in co-operation with Henlein and Esterházy finally dragged the Slovak nation into slavish subjugation to Nazi Germany. The practices of the Nazis, Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and the book of the Nazi ideologist, Rosenberg, "The Myth of the 20th Century", could leave no one in doubt, that after the victory of the Nazis the "inferior Slavonic race" would be either exterminated or enslaved and the Slavonic states liquidated. During this time the accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, were particularly active. Vojtaššák, as close collaborator of Hlinka and leader of the right wing of his party, made full use of his experiences as a professional traitor during the First Republic. Buzalka, as zealous propagandist of the Hlinka Party, as early as Autumn, 1938, was propagating in the press the necessity of Slovakia's breaking away from the Republic. In December, 1938, during the elections to the Slovak parliament, he called upon the masses of the believers to vote for a joint list of candidates of the Hlinka Party.

The high Church hierarchy, headed by the accused, Vojtaššák, became a devoted servant of Hitler. It put its entire influence among the faithful at the disposal of the fascist regime and the Hitler occupants, against our people. The Catholic Bishops gave

instructions for a Pastoral letter, blessing Tiso's fascist regime, to be read out in all churches on 24th October, 1939.

The Slovak Bishops' Council compelled the lower clergy to collaborate actively with the regime. So it happened, that a quarter of all the Deputies to the Slovak parliament were Catholic priests, out of six regional chairmen of the Hlinka Party two were priests, the majority of Catholic priests were secretaries, chairmen, functionaries and members of the Hlinka Party, the Hlinka Guard, the Hlinka Youth organisation and other institutions of the so-called Slovak State. Tiso, himself, relied in his entire, criminal, anti-popular policy on close co-operation with the high Church hierarchy. The alliance of the Catholic Church with the Tiso regime expressed itself symbolically in Tiso's person.

The accused, Vojtaššák, as representative of the Bishops' Council in the State Council, approved of all racial laws and unheard of racial persecution, the declaration and execution of the war on Poland and the Soviet Union, the exploitation of Slovakia by the Nazis and the terror enacted by the regime against progressive forces.

The accused, Buzalka, procured a Papal blessing on the so-called Slovak State and, together with the accused, Vojtaššák, blessed Tiso's army and sent it into battle against Catholic Poland and the fraternal Soviet Union. As Vicar-general of the Slovak army, on his frequent inspections to the Eastern Front, he nauseatingly misused religion to intensify the fratricidal struggle. Apart from that the accused, Buzalka, on orders from the Vatican gained information in the temporarily occupied Soviet Ukraine for the Vatican's vicious, disruptive anti-Soviet campaign, which had its importance for the German occupation power. He drew his subordinate officers of the Clerical Service into his espionage network, among them Lt.-Colonel Andrejkovič. As early as 1941 on instructions from the Vatican he established contact, through Lt.-Colonel Andrejkovič with the Vatican spy, the Provincial Poplatek. Later on he collaborated also with the dangerous spies for the Vatican, the Fathers Novikov, Moskva, Kellner and Čížek, who already before the war had crossed the Soviet border in disguise and with false documents. All of these were graduates of that well-known espionage centre of the Vatican, Russicum, whose activity is directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Democracies. At this centre spies are

educated and trained against the Soviet Union from former White Guardists and traitors, who have escaped punishment in their Slav countries. Since the end of the last war, war criminals, officers of the S. S. with the task of organising espionage and disruptive activities in the Slav states, have also been operating from this centre.

The accused Gojdič, highest representative of the Greek Catholic Church in the Republic, had as a common basis for his co-operation with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Tiso regime, hatred against the ordinary people and craving for power and property. In the past he had always betrayed the interests of the people and had devotedly served the ruling class of counts and big land-owners. Willingly he now put his entire influence among the believers at the service of the Tiso regime, for in this he saw a guarantee of the maintaining of the capitalist system and the preservation of the high living of the high Church hierarchy. He issued a whole list of Pastoral letters in which he called upon the faithful to support the regime. Moreover, on the basis of the agreement between the Vatican and Hitler on the sending of Catholic missions to the occupied territories, Gojdič abused his position to inveigle the direct support of the whole Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia for the Nazis in their predatory attack on the Soviet Union. After a conference with the Nazi military command, he called upon the priests in his diocese to come forward in the greatest possible number for appointment to parish posts in the Ukraine. The Greek Catholic Church which, against the will of its followers, had been dragged by its hierarchy into the anti-Soviet front immediately after the October socialist revolution in Russia, thus now, by its assistance in their criminal attempt to destroy the first Socialist state, became an instrument of Hitlerite imperialism and of the Vatican.

The accused, Gojdič, as an inveterate enemy of Socialism and progress, carried out espionage against the Soviet Union during the time of the so-called Slovak State, according to Vatican instructions. He gained his espionage reports from collaborators with the Nazis, who had fled before the Soviet Army and passed them on to the Internuncio, Burzio, in Bratislava.

Therefore, the accused Bishops, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, with the rest of the high Church hierarchy, who in fact ruled

the so-called Slovak State, are responsible for all the sacrifice of life and immense loss to economy, suffered by Slovakia as a result of the criminal war support extended to Hitler. They are jointly responsible for all the crimes committed by the fascists and their accomplices in Slovakia, especially for criminally driving Slovak soldiers into battle against Catholic Poland and the fraternal Soviet Union. Further, they are responsible for the 3,000 persons who were held without trial in Tiso's concentration camps at Ilava and elsewhere, among them priests who had been expelled from the Spiš chapter by the accused, Vojtaššák. In the court prisons for political offences languished 3,595 persons. 30,000 people from Slovakia perished in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. In Vlčková street in Bratislava and in other places in Slovakia guardists inhumanly tortured thousands of anti-fascist fighters. As a consequence of racial persecution 68,000 citizens of Slovakia were transported to death camps in Poland and Nazi Germany and of these only a small percentage returned. The Nazi occupants burned down the Slovak villages of Kľak, Tokajík, Telgárt, Baláže, Kalište and tens of others. After the suppression of the Uprising the Nazis and guardists tortured to death 4,316 victims, who afterwards were found in mass graves, men, women and even children. In the Spring of 1939 the Nazis removed from Dubnica and Považská Bystrica war material to the value of 2 milliard crowns, which would have been sufficient for equipping 24 divisions, and the Tiso government refused compensation. The agreement on economic co-operation enabled the Nazis to drain the Slovak national economy and, as a result, in June 1944 the debts of the so-called Slovak State and the national bank, arising from the overpayment of Nazi credit-notes, amounted to 8,6 milliard crowns (clearing balance). 120,000 Slovak workers were sent to Nazi Germany to forced slave labour which endangered their health and their lives. By an agreement on the utilization of enterprises in Slovakia for war purposes, the Nazis were given big factories in Podbrezová and Považská Bystrica as well as tens of other works. The Tiso government took upon itself the delivery of raw materials. The products delivered to the Nazis by these works during the years 1940—1944 amounted altogether to the value of 3,788.3 million crowns which sum the Nazis never paid. A secret agreement on supplies to the Nazi army called in by Tiso to suppress the Slovak National

Uprising, at the cost of the so-called Slovak State, damaged the Slovak national economy to the amount of 7 milliard crowns.

When the Slovak people, under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the sacrificial support of the Soviet Union, rose to the heroic struggle for its freedom and honour against the fascist occupants and their guardist accomplices, the treacherous Bishops helped to suppress the Uprising. At the Bishops' conference in Banská Bystrica at the end of August, 1944, they published the criminal "Ohlas" (Manifesto) against the Uprising. Bishops Kmeňko and Nécsey conferred twice in Nitra with the Nazi generals Höffle and Berger on how to disrupt the insurrectionist army. The accused traitor, Vojtaššák, called the insurrectionists and the partisans "bandits" and appealed to the faithful of his diocese to work for the Nazis even on Sundays and holidays. Bishop Škrábik arranged thanksgiving services for the suppression of the Uprising and the occupation of Banská Bystrica by the Nazis. While the Nazi hordes burned Slovak villages, organised mass executions in Kremnička and burned alive thousands of innocent people in the limekilns of Horehroní, Bishop Škrábik held a banquet for Höffle, Tiso and other murderers of our nation. The Bishops continued their treacherous and criminal collaboration with the fascist murderers, even in these direst moments of the Slovak nation. They did so for their own selfish interests, regarding their property and their power positions and also in the interests of the Vatican, which in turn were linked with those of Hitler and Tiso.

The Vatican, which in the past had always supported reactionary, exploiting regimes and which during the Second World War supported the bloody murderers of nations—Hitler and Mussolini—whom it regarded as the striking fist against Socialism and progress, gave its moral and political support to the criminal Tiso regime during the whole time of its existence. After the fall of the regime the Vatican gave asylum to the fascist traitor and collaborator, Sidor, and others and consistently worked for the liberation of the war criminals, Tiso and his associates.

On the other hand, many priests of minor ranks stood by the people even during the Uprising. They helped the partisans and the insurgent soldiers, saved many citizens who were threatened with racial persecution and many of them, themselves, fought in the mountains.

After the liberation the working people, including the masses of the faithful Catholics and also former members of the Hlinka Party, worked devotedly for the rebuilding of the Republic. The Slovak people saw from daily practice that neither priests nor leaders were hampered in their religious activity, nor was a single church closed down. On the contrary, hundreds of churches were built or repaired. The believers went freely to church and the priests freely carried on their religious rites. The Slovak people successfully completed the Two Year Plan of economic reconstruction, despite the efforts of disruptive elements and saboteurs from the ranks of the reactionary bourgeoisie in economic and public life. Now the Slovak people are working enthusiastically and devotedly for the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan and through this for the industrialisation of Slovakia.

The high Church hierarchy sees in the social, economic and political measures taken by the government, arising from the Košice governmental programme, a threat to its economic and political power and is making preparations for extensive, anti-State, disruptive and espionage activities, with the aims of reversing the road to Socialism, of overthrowing the People's Democratic regime and reinstating the capitalist system. From the start the high Church hierarchy counted on the help of the treacherous bourgeoisie at home and of the Vatican and the Western imperialists. As it came to light at the recent Prague trial of nine members of the high Church hierarchy, Pope Pius XII promised Abbot Opasek as early as 1945, during the latter's visit to Rome, that the high Church hierarchy in the Czechoslovak Republic would not be isolated in its struggle against the realisation of Socialism.

Preparations for this anti-State activity were already being made during the Tiso regime. These preparations for the post-war conditions consisted of the withdrawal from public life of the less compromised exponents of the Hlinka Party, already at the time of the Uprising. Furthermore, large sums of money were transferred abroad through the Legations in the Vatican, Switzerland and Sweden. On the directions of Ďurčanský, from March, 1945 some were to fight at home for the breaking up of the Republic by illegal work and by misusing the democratic freedom, while others were to carry on the fight abroad. Moreover, they counted from the very beginning on a war conflict between

the Western imperialists and the Soviet Union. Thus, the political, organisational and financial conditions were created for anti-State activities aiming at the breaking up of the People's Democratic Republic. At the conference in Banská Bystrica on August 27th, 1944 the accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, together with other Bishops, prepared on the basis of a memorandum by the Vatican agent, Kolakovič, disruptive activities for the moment when Slovakia would be liberated by the Soviet Army. Proof that they discussed the possibilities of disruptive activities already at that time, is in the document entitled "Pastorals for Hard Times", which was found in the secret archives of the accused, Vojtaššák. Among other things it says, "Apart from the official and public clerical administration a secret, clerical administration will be set up... priests who work within this organisation will disguise themselves as workers, eventually change their names... immediately after the changeover has been effected those priests, who have been appointed for this pastoral work, will take up their positions in disguise... in the first turmoil these priests will disappear... Already now personal documents, backdated, should be procured... everyone who reads this letter will pledge himself on oath to betray nothing of its contents..."

The accused, Buzalka, in an editorial of the 1945 New Year's issue of the "Katolícké Noviny", when the defeat of the Nazi armies was clear to everyone, called upon the believers to support the fascist so-called Slovak State, and so tried to break down the morale of the Slovak people in their struggle against the occupants. In accordance with these directions the high Church hierarchy carried on its disruptive and espionage activities along four lines: 1. In collaboration with the Hlinkite emigration, 2. In collaboration with the Hlinka fascist wing of the bourgeoisie in the underground movement, which at the same time it helped to set up, 3. In collaboration with the Slovak, Lettrich-Ursini, capitalist and big land-owner reaction, which was given expression in the well-known April election agreement with the reactionary "Democratic Party", and 4. In collaboration with the high Church hierarchy in the Czech lands, in accordance with Vatican instructions.

The accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, maintained a highly treasonable contact with the agents of the Western imperialists, the traitors Ďurčanský and Sidor. The high Church dignitaries during their official visits to Rome acted as mediators in this highly

treasonable contact between the criminal emigrés and the underground movement at home. The Slovak Bishops wrote slanderous articles against the Republic for journals published in America. Documents show, that at the Bishops' conference in Trnava on 20th March, 1947 it was agreed that the 10,000 dollars, which had been collected among Catholics in America for the believers in Slovakia, should be put to the support of the Ďurčanský group of traitor emigrés and his accomplices. In this connection the accused, Vojtaššák, wrote a letter to the priest, Krasul, in the U.S. The accused, Vojtaššák, further used his influence to smooth out the differences existing between Ďurčanský and Sidor, to unite them in the fight against the Republic. The American priests, Dubosch and Plátek, on their tour through Slovakia, received from the accused, Vojtaššák, false and slanderous reports on the situation here, which they used after their return to America in a slander campaign against the Republic.

Even after the liberation of Slovakia, as was shown in the course of the examination, the accused, Vojtaššák, at various occasions praised the crimes of the Tiso regime, with the purpose of giving moral support to the criminal elements of the Hlinka fascist underground movement. As a result of this anti-State activity of the accused, Vojtaššák, and other members of the high Church hierarchy, a number of Church functionaries in fact offered themselves as accomplices in illegal, anti-State groups which were subsequently discovered. They helped people to escape abroad, gave financial assistance to underground groups, participated in the preparing, duplicating and distributing of illegal leaflets and gave asylum to spies and agents from abroad in their parishes, monasteries and orders.

These fascist, underground groups, directly supported by the high Church hierarchy, were to create in Slovakia the basis for the realisation of the aims of the traitorous, Tiso collaborationist refugees and of the high Church hierarchy itself, that is to prepare for the breaking up of the Republic with the help of a war between East and West. Through disruptive activities at home and the propaganda of the traitor, Ďurčanský, abroad, they were to prepare the ground for the setting up of a fifth column in Slovakia in the event of a war. The Slovak traitors abroad, who once sold the Slovak people to Hitler, would like to sell the Slovak people to the Anglo-American imperialists. In the same way the representatives

of the Czech bourgeoisie abroad, Ripka, Zenkl and their followers, threw overboard the independence of the Republic, as this complied with the imperialist interests of the U.S. in whose mercenary service they are betraying their country only because they hope to achieve the return of nationalised factories and big landed estates.

After the unsuccessful attempt of the Slovak Bishops to set up an independent political party, the Slovak high Church hierarchy orientated itself towards the reactionary Slovak Democratic Party which, as later developments showed, carried on a systematic disruption of the Republic. Before the elections in 1946 the canon, Cvinček, on behalf of the Slovak Bishops' Council, concluded the well-known April agreement with representatives of the said party. Under cover of the legal Democratic Party the high Church hierarchy wanted to recreate the banned fascist Hlinka's People's Party, in contradiction to the Košice Government Programme, to dominate the Slovak Board of Commissioners and other organs of the people's administration, and from these positions to disrupt the political and economic life of Slovakia, and at the given moment, in conjunction with the Czech bourgeoisie, to bring about by force the downfall of the People's Democratic regime. Later developments fully confirmed these highly treasonable aims of the April agreement. On the basis of this agreement the Central Catholic Office issued directions from the Bishops' Council forbidding the believers to hand in white voting papers and ordering them to vote for the "Democratic Party". The directions end with the following words, "... if anyone has any doubts, he should consult with a priest ...".

Having intimidated the faithful through abuse of the confession and having spread untruthful reports about the Soviet Union and hatred against the Communists, they instigated in several places in Slovakia attacks on the lives and property of members of the Communist Party, in two cases not stopping at murder. The victory of the "Democratic Party" was due to the terror carried out by the high Church hierarchy.

The real aims of the high Church hierarchy were brought to light in the statement made by the accused, Vojtaššák, who declared, "The high Church hierarchy promised itself a great deal from the 'Democratic Party' on the basis of the agreement of April, 1946 ... The economic power of the high Church hierarchy

in Slovakia depended on the political power of the 'Democratic Party'. It was the foremost task of the high Church hierarchy to protect property from nationalisation or from being divided among small farmers and landless peasants."

For a promised reward—a car and 250,000 crowns (which after the elections he in fact received)—the accused, Gojdič, dragged the entire Greek Catholic Church into the struggle in support of these highly treasonable aims. On his orders priests subordinate to him in eastern Slovakia co-operated in their campaign with the Banderite murderers, who had been sent into our territory by the Western imperialists for the purpose of influencing the elections. After the elections the high Church hierarchy in the press of the "Democratic Party" and in the "Katolícké Noviny", in public speeches and whisper campaigns, in their sermons and through personal agitation among the believers, openly and secretly agitated against the domestic and foreign policy of the government, endeavouring in this way to breed in the population a hostile attitude towards the government. Through the "Democratic Party" the Slovak Bishops tried to prevent the just punishing of the traitor, Jozef Tiso, and openly approved of his crimes. They wanted to secure his pardon, later on his release and finally his return to political life.

Apart from the above-mentioned criminal contact with traitors abroad, support of the illegal underground movement and attempts at creating internal disorder with the help of the reactionary elements of the bourgeois parties—the high Church hierarchy attempted by various disruptive means in their Church activities to disorganise the internal political and economic life and to create an atmosphere of distrust towards the government and the People's Democratic regime, with the final aim of bringing about the downfall of popular power in Czechoslovakia.

Immediately after the liberation Bishops Vojtaššák and Čársky rejected the government's offers of co-operation. On August 22, 1945 at a conference of Bishops held in Bratislava, the Slovak Bishops' Council resolved to carry on organised agitation among the Catholic believers, against the People's Democratic regime. Consequently, the accused, supported by the other Bishops, through the media of religious ceremonies, missions, maidens of the Virgin Mary, eucharistic associations, sermons, recollects, and by the collection of signatures in churches and campaign by nuns among

the very sick in hospitals, they incited the Catholic believers against the government and the People's Democratic regime. In this way they hoped to gain a basis for their disruptive and espionage anti-State plans. The direction and co-ordination of this disruptive activity was entrusted to the Central Catholic Office in Bratislava, which built up a widespread organisational network embracing every parish. Apart from this, the disruptive decisions taken at the Bishops' conference were passed on to the clergy of all dioceses through the conferences of deans, the clergy being compelled by their Bishops to carry out these decisions. The Bishops misused circulars and even Pastoral letters for their treacherous attacks against the industrialisation of Slovakia, which is the only way towards economic development and a new, happy future for the Slovak people, against new laws, against nationalisation, against the taking over of schools by the State, against mass organisations, against brigades in general and against the Youth Railway in particular. Besides this, they organised among the believers various disruptive actions. For instance, they sent their agents in clerical garments to the Youth Railway where, under the cloak of their pastoral duties, they tried to undermine the working morale of the young people and to win them over to anti-State activity. In the Summer of 1947 they even took advantage of the natural catastrophe which befell our country for spreading discontent and opposition to the People's Democratic State. At this same time they organised the appearance of miracles in Tvrdomestice and elsewhere, when persons selected by the Bishops told the bewildered faithful that God did not agree with the building of Socialism in the Republic. By the sale of crosses they extracted money from the believers for the financing of their anti-State activities. In addition, on instructions from the Vatican, they co-ordinated their disruptive actions with the terrorist deeds of the Banderites in eastern Slovakia, and they co-operated in the attempt of the traitor, Žingor, to split the unity of the partisans and misuse a part of them for riots against the government. They also took part in the conspiracy against the Republic, which from Summer, 1947 was led by the highest functionaries of the "Democratic Party", Ursíny, and others, in co-operation with the traitor, Ďurčanský.

The accused, Gojdič, was already towards the end of the so-called Slovak State organising the granting of all possible support

to traitors and spies from Poland and the Soviet Ukraine, who, because of their collaboration with the Nazis, had fled before the advancing Soviet Army. Immediately after the liberation, in his capacity of highest representative of the Greek Catholic Church in the Republic, he misused the Church organisation to establish centres of interception and to regroup the remnants of the defeated anti-Soviet forces from Poland and the Ukraine, on Greek Catholic parishes and in monasteries. Simultaneously, he set up an illegal network for the organising of the transit of the Banderites into the services of the Western imperialists through the territory of the Republic.

In this anti-State activity the high Church hierarchy received the moral support of the Vatican, which in 1945 did not comply with the demand of the Czechoslovak government to recall and prosecute three Bishops who had collaborated with the Nazis.

At the Bishops' conferences the high Church hierarchy took decisions on violent, disruptive actions against the Land Reform and the Agricultural Laws. It instructed the priests in their sermons to threaten with Church penalties those who applied for land formerly belonging to the Church. The accused, Vojtaššák, declared in his statement with regard to the Land Reform the following:

"In this instance I did not identify myself with the will of the believers ... Through the nationalisation of Church landed estates, the high Church hierarchy was deprived of its power position which it had acquired already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Therefore, the Bishops at their conferences resolved to fight against this State decree by both legal and illegal means ..."

This statement proves, that the property interests of the high Church hierarchy were the motive for their conspiratorial activity.

The February victory of the working people shattered the hopes of the reaction of restoring capitalism by means of their own forces. The regenerated National Front removed disruptive elements and saboteurs from economic and political positions, thus making it impossible to disrupt the Republic from legal positions in political parties. After February 1948 the high Church hierarchy intensified its anti-State activity in close alliance with the Vatican and the Western imperialists, on whose victory in a new world war it relied. In his report sent to the Vatican on October 16, 1948 Vojtaššák wrote:

"The present regime in Czechoslovakia is so firm that it is not possible to count with its overthrow by forces inside the country."

The high Church hierarchy and the accused, being most active men in this conspiracy, at the beginning of 1949 on the order of the Vatican, broke off the negotiations for an agreement with the government. In his evidence Gojdič declared, that at the end of June 1949 the Vatican agent, Verolino, expressly told him:

"At present the political situation is favourable for developing opposition to the Government. This, however, may not last long and should therefore be taken advantage of ..."

Documents from the trial of Bishop Zela and co. before the State Court in Prague, revealed the disruptive role of Verolino in the Republic and showed, that the procedure of the high Church hierarchy in Czechoslovakia was part of a big conspiratorial plan of the imperialist powers, the Vatican and the criminal fascist Tito gang against the countries of the People's Democracies and, that the high Church hierarchy had carried on negotiations with the government only as a blind to cover up its preparations for disruption.

After the breaking off of the negotiations with the government, the high Church hierarchy went over to organising open opposition among the believers against the government. The Bishops sent out to all parishes illegal circulars and Pastoral letters, which had been duplicated in the episcopal offices. They were delivered by particularly reliable messengers. The financial costs were refunded from means which were to have served religious purposes. In these letters the Bishops openly attacked the State and called upon the clergy to publicise them. The Western capitalists and the Vatican accompanied these attacks by the Bishops with a vicious slander campaign against Czechoslovakia in their press and on the radio.

The lower clergy were terrorised into reading out in their churches Pastoral letters and circulars directed against the State and were thus intentionally driven into committing punishable actions. The Vatican agent, Verolino, besides giving instructions, undertook at this time a journey through the various dioceses in order to watch the progress of the anti-State activity, organized by the high Church hierarchy on the initiative of the Vatican.

At the Bishops' conference held in Trnava on 14th August, 1949, it was decided to organise a fight against the co-operative move-

ment of the Slovak peasants. The Bishops compelled their priests to dissuade the believers from joining the United Agricultural Co-operatives both in their sermons and in personal talks.

The concentrated attack of the high Church hierarchy and the Vatican reached its climax with the excommunication decrees issued in Summer, 1949. According to these decrees faithful Catholics would be expelled from the Church if they participated in any way in the building up of Socialism in our State. The high Church hierarchy, in particular the accused, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, issued and illegally distributed in the individual dioceses instructions on how to carry out the excommunication, thus furthering the aim of disrupting our internal political and economic life and so of destroying the social and economic system of the People's Democratic Republic.

After the unsuccessful attempts to win the masses of the believers for their anti-State aims, the high Church hierarchy tried in Autumn, 1949, by threats to force the lower clergy as a whole into anti-State activity. When the Czechoslovak parliament passed the laws safeguarding unhampered Church and religious life, the Bishops proved once again, that it was not the protection of the Church and religion, which they had at heart, but that they were pursuing exclusively reactionary aims directed against the State.

They tried to organise the opposition of the clergy to the passing and later on the application of the laws which were of such great significance for the development of religious life and for the position of the clergy in our State. But as with the believers, they found, that they could not use the lower clergy for their disruptive purposes.

At the end of 1949 the Vatican in its policy for Czechoslovakia adopted a system of so-called faculties, i.e., full powers which served in the establishing of an illegal, disruptive and espionage network. The faculties were handed out under strict Papal secrecy. The jurisdiction of the Bishops in the dioceses was through them transferred to the secret hierarchy, chosen from the most reliable servants and spies of the Vatican. In this respect Gojdič in Slovakia had anticipated the Vatican. He had appointed his representatives even before receiving full powers from the Vatican. When his illegal network in support of the Banderites was discovered and he assumed that he would be arrested for his anti-State activity, he remembered the "Pastorals for Hard Times"

of the Vatican spy, Kolakovič. This contained even directions on organising a secret clerical administration. He appointed five representatives who were to take over successively the leadership of the illegal network.

The centre of the espionage activity of the high Church hierarchy was the Papal Internunciature in Prague. It collected and sorted out the reports received from the accused and from other Bishops and from the Catholic Central Office in Slovakia. Espionage reports and other untrue, slanderous reports were sent to the Vatican by all the accused. In addition, Gojdič passed on to the Vatican espionage reports on the economic and political situation in Poland and in the Soviet Union. These espionage reports, it was testified by witnesses and accused in the trial of Bishop Zela and co., were passed on by the Vatican, the obedient agent of Wall Street, either further to the U.S. or else were used in its slanderous and disruptive campaign against our Republic.

Espionage reports from the accused were sent abroad not only through the Internunciature in Prague but also through foreign diplomatic missions and various American missions. Among the mediators were an official of the Austrian Consulate in Bratislava, Karol Rainoch, the chief of the American Catholic Charity, Sullivan, the American journalist going under the name of Troughton, and the head of the American mission, C.A.R.E., Robertson.

The reports contained information on the situation in the Republic, on the activities of the National Committees and the political parties, on the supply situation and on the security measures, all of which should have been kept secret in the interests of national defence. The character of the reports alone shows that they were intended to serve the preparation for an imperialist war against the Republic, against the other People's Democracies and against the Soviet Union.

By their criminal activity the accused helped to bring about the breaking up of the Czechoslovak Republic in the period of Hitler's aggression. During the period of German supremacy they participated in, and in every way assisted, the criminal Tiso regime and finally in their blind hatred against Socialism and, thus, against the happy future of our nation, became the most active exponents of the criminal international conspiracy against the Republic. The accused, who were interested only in their property and their power, were selling the freedom of the Slovak people, in the interest

of American imperialism. In their criminality they wanted to achieve their aims even at the cost of a new bloody war, which they helped to prepare and on which they fastened all their hopes.

About the individual accused:

JÁN VOJTAŠŠÁK,

residential Bishop of the Spiš Chapter and leading representative of the high Church hierarchy in Slovakia, has always been an inveterate enemy of the working people and of the Czechoslovak Republic. He was a traitor to the interests of the lower clergy and he betrayed his own nation.

Living on the episcopal landed estates covering 23,055 jutes and including the sawmill at Hranovice, the mill and the brickworks at Štiavnik and enjoying a yearly income of 3 to 4 million crowns, he behaved like a feudal lord and unscrupulously exploited his employees, landworkers from the ranks of the poor people of Orava and Spiš. Immediately after the establishment of the pre-Munich Republic he lent the full weight of his authority and his personality to the reactionary bloc of political parties, which robbed our people of what they had gained by the revolutionary movement after the first world war. In the elections of 1925 he fervently supported Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, thus helping to create the pre-requisites for the weakening of the Republic and the fascisation of Slovakia. Out of his high Bishop's income he supported the reactionary policy of the leadership of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. From his pulpit and on pages of the Hlinka party press and other publications, he systematically fought against progressive forces, incited hatred against the Czechoslovak Republic and slandered the Soviet Union, to whom the exploited masses of the Slovak people turned with all their hopes. In 1933 he issued his employees of the chapter with "service regulations" containing conditions of slavery such as had provoked the oppressed peasants in Hungary to rebellion already at the time of George Dóža. Paragraph 209 of these regulations sets down:

"All relatives of the employees who are fit for work are under obligation to work, for the usual wage, if according to need they are called upon by the economic management."

Paragraph 210 states:

"Every landworker must procure one woman for work (wife, daughter or sister), who is under obligation if need be to take up work for the landlord and finish it conscientiously. If there is work to do on the farm it is not permitted to work for the farmer in the village. If the woman has a child which she can entrust to somebody else, she must find somebody to look after it and go to work."

Paragraph 201 then lays down:

"The Bishop, who has been appointed by the Holy See, represents for all employees *the supreme and final judge* and therefore against his verdict there is no further legal remedy."

The bank of the Spiš Chapter drew no smaller interests from the small peasants than any of the other banks, which were in the hands of Slovak, Czech, Hungarian or Jewish capitalists. In some cases a debt dragged through two generations and finally the property came under the hammer. Merciless confiscations and innumerable legal proceedings started by Bishop Vojtaššák because of a pasture or fishing, and his denunciations to the court of the taking of pieces of wood from the Chapter's woods, prove how the accused persecuted and exploited the working people of his diocese. As one of the leading and most active Hlinkites, he remained in the services of the reactionary forces who were planning the breaking up of the Republic and who betrayed it at the time of Munich. His attitude against progress and against the people winds like a red thread through his entire public and priestly activities. He was among the first to join in the building up and strengthening of Tiso's clerico-fascist regime for he looked upon it as a safeguard of the power interests, large estates and high income of the high Church hierarchy. As deputy-chairman of the State Council he actively participated in all criminal measures taken by the Tiso government. On his own initiative he carried out measures against citizens of Jewish origin. In 1940 in the services of the Central State Security and on the basis of an agreement with the war criminal Alexander Mach, he ordered all priests of Polish nationality resident in his diocese to emigrate without delay to Poland, leaving all their property without compensation in Slovakia. He used the racial laws to enrich himself still further by aryanisation and thus took over Jewish properties in Betlanovce and Baldovce.

From 1939 until 1942 as the highest military cleric, he zealously

participated in the organisation and fascist education of the mercenary Tiso army. He incited the soldiers to criminal fratricide against the Soviet people at the side of the German fascists. In his diocese he appointed clerical advisers to the individual fascist organisations, the Hlinka Youth and the Hlinka Guard. For these services he received in 1943 a decree of thanks from the Minister of National Defence and was decorated with the "Grand-Cross of the Order of the Slovak Cross" by Tiso.

In October 1944 with the purpose of helping the Nazi war machine he gave orders to all the believers in his diocese throughout all parishes subordinated to him, obediently to carry out all the instructions of the German military command, and at the same time he gave permission to the Catholic believers to take part in fortification work for the Nazis even on Sundays and holidays. He expressed his positive attitude towards Nazism in the following words: "The question of national socialism, baptized and intermingled with Christ's principles, can only serve our people and the clergy who work among them."

As a devoted adherent of Tiso's regime he opposed all endeavours of the Slovak people to shake off the Nazi yoke. At the Bishop's conference in Banská Bystrica, together with the other members of the high Church hierarchy in Slovakia, he issued on August 27, 1944 the "Ohlas" (Manifesto) to the believers against the Slovak National Uprising. After the Uprising he called its participants "a partisan gang of robbers". When in Autumn, 1944, he saw, that the defeat of the Nazis could not be averted and that on the territory of the Republic the people would take the government into their own hands, he gave orders to the chaplain, Peter Galan, of Ružomberok to split the unity of the workers through the agency of former members of the Christian Trade Union Movement.

After the liberation he refused to co-operate with the Czechoslovak Republic and immediately started off on his sabotage and espionage activity. From the results of several trials of people found guilty of high treason,—in particular Dr. Ivan Murin and co. and Peter Maxoň and co.—it has been ascertained that the accused, Vojtaššák, maintained contact on the one hand with Hlinkite underground movement at home and on the other hand with the traitor emigrés, Sidor and Ďurčanský. To these traitors he gave his financial as well as moral support. In order that

the disruptive activity of Sidor and Ďurčanský should not be hampered by their mutual differences, he requested Sidor's agent, the priest, Dubosch, in New York, to try to smooth out these differences in his name. On the request of Ďurčanský and the authorisation of the Slovak Bishops, he wrote a letter to the priest, Krasul, in New York, granting the Slovak treacherous emigrés 10,000 dollars which had been collected by American Slovaks for the believers in Slovakia.

After the victory of February 1948 he participated still more ardently in the systematic and organised campaign of the high Church hierarchy against the foundations of the People's Democratic Republic. He took severe measures against those priests of his diocese, who did not take part in the anti-State activities demanded by him and who helped in the building up of the Republic. Thus for instance on May 8, 1948, he suspended a chaplain, Andrej Doranský, of Rapča on Orava, because he had stood for election to the National Assembly. In July, 1948, he urged in a letter addressed to all ordinaries that Dr. Jozef Straka, priest of Banská Bystrica diocese and all other patriotic clergymen who were joining in the political life at the side of the people, should be excommunicated. He intervened against the priest of his diocese, Scheffer, of Bobrovec, because he had gone to welcome the progressive priest, Dechet, after his appointment as administrator of the Banská Bystrica diocese. With the aim of sabotaging the constructive efforts of the government and the working people and of smashing the unity of the Youth of Slovakia, he sent out a letter to all ordinaries, in which he raved against the work on the Youth Railway. He opposed the National Victory Shift and all brigades in order to put a brake on the repairing of war damage and the building up of Socialism.

He took part in all actions of the high Church hierarchy directed against the laws on the revision of the Land Reform and the school system. Through his subordinate priests he organised an action against the law on the economic security of the Churches and religious associations, recognised by the State. He worked out a resolution against the prepared law on clerical salaries, which he had duplicated and distributed to his subordinate deans by secret messengers. At a National Conference of Bishops held in Olomouc on July 7th, 1949, he voted for a decision, according to which any member of the Preparation Committee of the re-

generated Catholic Action would become subject to Church penalties and priests should obey only their Bishops and the Pope and no other (obviously State) regulations which had not been approved by the Church authorities. In the Summer of 1949, he sent out to his subordinate deaneries by messengers illegal, slanderous Pastoral letters from the Czechoslovak Bishops, in which believers were called upon to oppose the government. In addition he distributed the text of the excommunication decrees which he had himself translated. He construed, duplicated and distributed illegal circulars explaining how to apply these excommunication decrees. Both the decrees and the circulars he, himself, read out in church and explained their meaning. He compelled his subordinate clergymen, too, to read them out in their churches and to put them into practice.

On the basis of the secret faculties, which he had received from the Internunciature in Prague, he took part in the setting up of an illegal, disruptive network of the secret hierarchy in Slovakia, by appointing the Vicar-general of the Spiš chapter, Jozef Tomasci, and Suffragan Bishop Barnaš as secret Bishops.

As a significant exponent of the Vatican policy in Slovakia, he organised a spy network in his diocese and sent espionage reports to the Vatican, directly, as well as through the Internunciature in Prague. In particular, in 1946 he sent by Archbishop Kmeřko, a report to the Vatican containing facts which in the interest of the State should have been kept secret from a foreign power. On October 16th, 1948, he sent to the Vatican a comprehensive report on certain security measures in the State Administration and various untrue reports on conditions in the Republic, which the Vatican Radio later on used for violent attacks against our government and the People's Democratic regime. He sent a report procured by the dean, Vojtas, containing information from the Czech border regions of a political and economic nature, directly to the Vatican.

Dr. MICHAL BUZALKA,

Canon of the Bratislava chapter and since 1938 Suffragan Bishop of the Apostolic Administration in Trnava, played a significant part in the conspiracy of the Church hierarchy against the Republic. The roots of his hostile attitude towards the interests of

the working people and his hatred of all progress, reach back to the time of the First Republic. Already in 1920 he was giving every possible support to the anti-popular and separatist endeavours of the Hlinka wing of the Slovak bourgeoisie. In the critical year, 1938 he openly preached in the columns of the "Slovenská Pravda" the necessity of Slovakia's breaking away from the Republic. In December, 1938, during the elections to the Slovak parliament, he encouraged the believers to vote for the united list of candidates to Hlinka's Slovak People's Party.

He ardently worked for the consolidation of Tiso's fascist regime. In 1939, on Tiso's instructions, he requested from the Pope a blessing on the so-called Slovak State. In October 1940, he became publisher and owner of the "Katolícké Noviny", in which he published articles full of hatred against the Czech nation and the nations of the Soviet Union and propaganda for fascist ideas. In 1941 he was appointed military Vicar to the Slovak army. In this capacity, in his public speeches and his Pastoral letters he urged on the Slovak soldiers in the fratricidal fight against the Soviet Union. He is, therefore, jointly responsible for the atrocities committed in the Ukraine by murderers wearing the uniform of officers of Tiso's mercenary army. He is especially responsible for the atrocities committed against the Ukrainian people by the former Lieutenant Colonel Lokšík, whose whereabouts are at present unknown, and by Captain Kleinert who has been sentenced to death by the National Court and executed for his deeds. On March 14th, 1944 he was decorated with the Cross of Merit (Defence of the State) which he afterwards wore on his clerical robe. Moreover, during the war against the Soviet Union through radio speeches and articles he encouraged the Slovak Catholics to give full support to Tiso's regime and the German war machine. He maintained friendly relations with the German Minister to the Tiso government, Ludin, as well as with other representatives of Nazi Germany. His friendship with this war criminal was so ardent that in 1947, when Ludin and the mass murderer, SS-General Höffle, were justly sentenced to death by the National Court, he visited them in their prison and after their execution he said Mass for them. He, too, took part in the Bishops' conference at Banská Bystrica, held on August 27, 1944, after which the "Ohlas" (Manifesto) of the Bishops was issued against the Uprising.

After the liberation he took a hostile attitude towards the new People's Democratic regime. On this point he declared in his evidence, "I took a hostile attitude towards the establishing of the People's Democratic Czechoslovak State, since I well realised, that this system constituted a mortal danger to our power, political position, furthermore, that the government programme of building Socialism in the Czechoslovak Republic meant also the slow but sure relinquishment of all the exclusive privileges which the high hierarchy of Slovakia had enjoyed until now. I was aware of the fact, that the industrialisation of Slovakia constituted a further danger to the high clergy, in that the Slovak working people would become more and more politically conscious and that in this manner we should lose the confidence of the broad masses of Catholic believers on an ever increasing scale and thus automatically our former power positions."

Because of this, together with the accused, Vojtaššák and Gojdič, he took part in the conspiracy of the high clergy against the Republic. He took part in the Bishops' conferences and on the directions agreed upon there, he eagerly carried out disruptive activity. From the pulpit as well as in personal contact with the Catholic believers, he systematically spread untrue reports on the alleged suppression of the Church and religious persecution in the Republic and on conditions in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. He systematically agitated against the co-operation of the individual parts of the National Front, against nationalisation and the building of Socialism in general.

After February, 1948 he intensified further his disruptive activity. He found, that he could make use of the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty for the disruptive aims of the reaction. He deceived the believers by claiming that this traitor of the Hungarian working people had been innocently sentenced, although he knew full well that Mindszenty had been guilty of serious crimes against the Hungarian People's Democracy. On August 14, 1949 he attended a secret meeting of the Bishops in Trnava, where they decided on the methods the hierarchy should use in fighting the current regeneration of the Catholic Action, which was attempting to achieve an agreement between the State and the Church. After the conference he put into effect the accepted decisions. From his pulpit he read out and explained the inciting Pastoral letters and the excommunication decrees.

The accused, Buzalka, was an important agent of the Vatican espionage service on the territory of the Republic. In his capacity as Field Vicar of Tiso's mercenary army, with the help of Lt. Colonel Andrejkovič from the Clerical Service, he collected important reports on the population, the political and economic conditions of the Ukraine, temporarily occupied by the Germans. He joined in the espionage activities of the dangerous Vatican spies, the graduates of the well-known Vatican "Russicum", Fathers Kellner, Novikov, Moskva and Čížek, who before the outbreak of war had crossed the Soviet border in disguise. He regularly passed on reports received to the Vatican Chargé d'affaires in Bratislava, Dr Burzio. As early as 1944 he collaborated with the Vatican agent, Dr. Tomislav Kolakovič, who confided in him, that he had a far-reaching mission from the Vatican. Dr. Kolakovič developed disruptive and espionage activity in Slovakia during the Slovak National Uprising as well as after the liberation.

From 1946 until his arrest, he maintained contact with the emigrés group of war criminal and traitor, Ďurčanský. He worked through the employees of the Austrian Consulate-General in Bratislava, Karol Rainoch and Anna Bárová. Through the help of the above-named, he received directives and journals published by Ďurčanský abroad and at Ďurčanský's request sent espionage reports abroad of an economic and political nature. In 1947 through the student Jaško, who went as a delegate to the conference of the association, "Pax Romana", to Rome, he made contact with another traitor of the Republic, Karol Sidor. He sent reports on the political and economic situation in Slovakia and distorted reports on the trial of Tiso. In March, 1949 he agreed in Bratislava with the spy, Dr. Štefan Uhrín, that he would take over from him secret reports on security measures of the regional Slovak Ministry of Interior. These reports, handed over to him by Dr. Uhrín, the accused Buzalka sent abroad through the help of Karol Rainoch. Further, on the demand of traitor, Ďurčanský, he filled in and sent abroad an espionage questionnaire, delivered to him by A. Bárová, which contained questions on the political and economic conditions in Slovakia. Espionage reports gained in this manner, he had delivered to Vienna, some for Ďurčanský's group and some to the Papal Nunciature.

Apart from this, he handed espionage reports also to the Apostolic Administrator in Trnava, Dr. Lazík, who after elaborating

them, sent them through the Apostolic Internunciature in Prague to Rome. From time to time he passed reports on directly to the employee of the Prague Internunciature, Zmrzlík.

PAVOL GOJDIČ,

Bishop and supreme representative of the Greek Catholic Church on the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic, already during the first Republic joined the anti-Soviet front of the Ukrainian nationalists, who were helping the Vatican in its hostile actions against the Soviet Union. During the so-called Slovak State he used his entire influence among the believers to strengthen the clerico-fascist Tiso regime, in support of which he issued dozens of Pastoral letters. He also directly collaborated with the Nazis and supported their criminal actions in eastern Europe. In Prešov he was in close contact with the Hitler agent, Dr. Kolb, who effected contact between him and the Nazi Minister, Ludin, and the leader of the Germans in Slovakia, Karmasin. When the Nazi hordes were plundering and murdering in the Soviet Ukraine, in agreement with the German military command, he called upon the clergy of his diocese to volunteer for parishes in the occupied Ukraine where he wanted to use them as spies for the Vatican in accordance with the instructions of the latter. When the Soviet Army drove the Nazi occupants from the Ukraine and the collaborators with the Nazis fled before the front, he called upon his subordinate priests and the believers to give support to these refugees. He himself took over from the German military command 150,000 crowns for these clerical refugees who had actively fought against the Soviet Union. In 1942 he made contact with the Vatican agent, Dr. Kolakovič, to whom he gave a list of clergymen and laymen whom he considered reliable for espionage work. After the liberation he organised in his diocese an interception centre of Ukrainian terrorists and other enemies of the Soviet Union. As soon as these elements began to infiltrate into Slovakia, he sent a secret messenger to Poland to urge, that priests who, because of their anti-State activity, had to leave Poland, should call on him. He then placed these priests in parishes in Slovakia. To enable them to operate in Bohemia and Moravia, he appointed to the Prague parish at no. 1, Karlova ulice, his confidant

Pavel Hučko. Hučko was later sentenced for collaboration with the Banderites. He gave Hučko a number of blank forms provided with his signature in his own handwriting and the seal of the Bishop's office in Prešov, to be used for nomination decrees for Banderites.

He, himself, sent Banderites to the priest, Hučko. Hučko appointed them to parishes in the border regions, where with Gojdič's approval they continued in their anti-State and espionage activity, or he made possible their flight to the Western Zone of Germany. In order to facilitate Hučko's work, he sent to him a member of the Bander gang, Buranič, who had illegally entered the Czechoslovak Republic, now already sentenced. Gojdič gave Buranič a certificate falsely stating, that he was a student of theology, so that he would be able to move freely about the territory of the Republic. Buranič remained with Hučko until his arrest and assisted in the illegal escape of the Banderite murderers abroad. He asked priests of his diocese to issue the Banderites with false Birth Certificates and in some cases even with marriage licences. On the basis of such documents Hučko then procured citizenship for them. Moreover, he confirmed the reliability to the regime of such persons whom he knew had had to leave Poland or Sub-Carpathian Ukraine on account of their anti-State activities. When our security organs liquidated the Banderite gangs, he used the full weight of his authority to secure their release from prison and their passage to the Western Zone of Germany. So for instance, he intervened with Dr. Stuchlíková, the employee of the Catholic Charity, among others for Theodor Prišlák who had been arrested for collaboration with the Banderite bandits and also in favour of Hučko. For the release of Hučko he applied to leading members of the "Democratic Party". He attempted to put the entire action of our State against the Banderite bandits into such a light so that it seemed like an attack of the State on the Greek Catholic Church and it was to this end, that he made false reports to the International Red Cross.

In a circular in 1945 he forbade his subordinate priests any political activities. Before the election in 1946, after an agreement with the representatives of the "Democratic Party", he called upon the priests of his diocese to carry out agitation among the believers for the victory of this party and for collaboration with the Banderites. After the elections in recognition of this aid, he

received a private car from the then Minister Dr. Pietor and an amount of 250,000 crowns from Mr. Styk.

He attended almost every conference of Bishops, Slovak and Czech, where the organising of anti-State activities was discussed. After February, 1948 he compelled his subordinate priests to read out in their churches illegal, inciting, Pastoral letters and leaflets which he himself had construed and duplicated in his Bishop's office or else had received already duplicated from Archbishop Beran by secret messengers. In connection with the regenerated Catholic Action he issued an illegal circular, in which he threatened priests and believers who signed their appeal with excommunication.

He started his espionage activity against the Soviet Union during the so-called Slovak State. At the end of 1944, he sent to the Vatican through the Bratislava Internunciature a report on the situation in the liberated Ukraine, which he got from the Banderites. Since the liberation he regularly passed on espionage reports to the Vatican through the Prague Internunciature. In addition, he sent to the Vatican through Hučko regularly written reports including even reports on the measures taken by our security organs against the Banderites. He also requested the Internunciature to approach the government for the release of the arrested Banderites. In 1948, he sent a list of names of all Greek Catholic priests who had participated in anti-State activity to the Internunciature through Provincial Sabol. He also gave espionage reports on political and economic affairs to members of the various American missions.

When in 1949 he anticipated that he would be arrested for his anti-State activity, he appointed five illegal deputies, who knew about his illegal work, and who after his possible arrest were to carry on the work. This was before he received the so-called secret faculties from the Vatican. In case these, too, should be arrested, he divided the whole diocese into a secret network of ten districts, for each of which he secretly appointed one priest with episcopal jurisdiction.

Through their activities:

1. the accused, Ján Vojtaššák and ThDr. Buzalka, attempted from 1938 to the middle of March 1939 to change the Constitution of the Republic by force, especially where it concerned the inde-

pendance, unity or the Democratic-republican form of the State, which crime they committed under particularly aggravating circumstances;

2. all the accused procured for the enemy some sort of advantages in Slovakia and elsewhere under particularly aggravating circumstances during the war years of 1939 to 1944;

3. all the accused in Spišské Podhradie, Bratislava, Prešov and elsewhere in the years 1945 to 1950 allied themselves together and to other culprits in an attempt to destroy the People's Democratic regime, the economic and social system of the Republic, which is guaranteed by the Constitution and for this purpose formed direct contact with a foreign power, which crime they committed under particularly aggravating circumstances;

4. all the accused in Spišské Podhradie, Bratislava, Prešov, Prague and elsewhere during the time mentioned under point 3. allied themselves together and to further culprits for the purpose of gaining State secrets with the intention of betraying them to a foreign power, and to this end they established direct contact with a foreign power, the State secret they really gained, then they betrayed the State secret to the foreign power, the accused Dr. Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič, having committed these crimes over a lengthy period of time, on an extensive scale and in a manner particularly dangerous, the crime of Dr. Michal Buzalka being concerned with a State secret of special importance.

Thus has been committed:

1. by the accused, Ján Vojtaššák and Dr. Michal Buzalka, the crime of plotting against the Republic according to § 1, sub. 1 and 4 Act No 50/23 Sb.

2. by all the accused the crime of military treason according to § 6 sub. 1 Act No 50/23 Sb.

3. all the accused the crime of high treason according to § 1, sub. 1, lit. c, sub. 2, Act 231/48 Sb. and Dr. Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič also according sub 3, lit. e, Act 231/48 Sb.

4. by all the accused the crime of espionage according to § 5 sub. 1 and Pavol Gojdič also according to § 5, sub. 2, lit. e, and Dr. Michal Buzalka also according to § 5, sub. 2, lit. e and d Act No 231/41 Sb.

They should be punished therefor as follows:

a) the accused Ján Vojtaššák according to § 1, sub. 1 Act 231/48 Sb. with regard to §§ 47, 48, 52 of that Act and §§ 96, 99 Act, article V, 1878,

b) the accused Dr. Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič according to § 1, sub. 3, Act 231/48 Sb. with regard to §§ 47, 48, 52 of that Act and §§ 96, 99 Act, article V, 1878.

I propose:

(1) that the main trial should be held before the State Court, Department in Bratislava which is competent according to § 13, sub 1 and § 20, sub 1 Act of Penal Procedure,

(2) that at the main trial the evidence should be assembled by the hearing of witnesses, experts and documents according to the above proposals.

for
the State Prosecutor
(signed) *Dr. Ján Feješ*

The Hearing of the Accused, Ján Vojtaššák

After the interval the President began the hearing of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák.

President: You have heard the indictment. Did you fully understand it?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: We shall first go through your activity during the First Republic. During the First Republic you were a devoted adherent of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. It is generally known what part this party played in the breaking up of the Republic. Would you briefly explain to us how you supported the disruptive policy of this party and how you collaborated in it.

Vojtaššák: I was from the creation of the independent Hlinka's Slovak People's Party its adherent and supporter for the reason, that its programme suited me.

President: It was also generally known, that you were in close friendship with Hlinka.

Vojtaššák: My friendship with the leader, with the Chairman of this party was, in fact, personal.

President: And not political?

Vojtaššák: It was a political friendship in so far as the programme of this party suited me as a Catholic Bishop.

Prosecutor: I have a question. Didn't Andrej Hlinka inform you about and discuss with you his political aims? Didn't you correspond together on this subject?

Vojtaššák: I don't remember his informing me in detail about the party and about what was going on in the party.

Prosecutor: I suggest, that the Court make known Hlinka's

letter of November 8, 1921, addressed to Vojtaššák, as a proof that not only was the accused in close relation with Hlinka, but that Hlinka kept him very well informed about his disruptive, political activities.

Vojtaššák: I am not denying it, I just do not remember such details.

Prosecutor: You will be informed about the details later from documents. I would put one more question. Did you do any political work before you began to operate in the Hlinka party? For instance, how was it with your pre-election campaign in 1910: whom were you then supporting? Do you remember this?

Vojtaššák: At that time I supported by campaigning the Hungarian government party. I cast my vote for its candidate.

President: And who was the opposition candidate, whom you combatted?

Vojtaššák: It seems to me it could have been some Čifáry.

President: Yes, the Slovak candidate, Čifáry.

Vojtaššák: I don't know about that.

Prosecutor: Not that you don't know, but that today you do not want to admit it. And what did you get for participation, for your campaign for that Hungarian government party?

Vojtaššák: Well, I left the place where I was working and was appointed as administrator. I was promoted.

President: You left for a better parish, didn't you?

Vojtaššák: Well... it was only temporary. It was a lucrative parish.

President: You have already told us that you fully agreed with the programme of the Hlinka party. Could you explain more exactly this stand of yours?

Vojtaššák: I knew that this party supported the interests of the Church hierarchy on the economic side, as they had announced in their programme and as it had been promised to me personally.

President: So then, economic interests predominated with you... We shall convince ourselves of this also from documents. You saw in this the strengthening of the position of the hierarchy.

Vojtaššák: The power position of the Church hierarchy. Because...

Prosecutor: Because the policy of the Hlinka's People's Party aimed at the destruction of the Republic, you knew that.

Vojtaššák: Well... that was finally apparent.

President: And how in this direction did you attempt to guide politically and use for these interests your believers?

Vojtaššák: I, personally, did not actually guide them in any way.

President: And don't you remember the elections of 1925? Did you not increase your activity then, did you not then in particular prevail on your clergy to influence the believers so that they would vote for the candidates of the Hlinka Party?

Vojtaššák: I must remark, that my conduct towards the party and my whole stand-point was generally known and that I tried to get them to rank themselves with me.

Prosecutor: Did you not try through your sermons and at other occasion when you came into contact with the believers to propagate the disruptive policy of the Hlinka party?

Vojtaššák: It is possible that I did do this.

President: Did you not write some articles on this subject?

Vojtaššák: It did happen that I wrote some articles for political newspapers, there were very few of them, and I do not remember precisely the content.

President: It was, as your own words confirm, political activity. Tell us further, how did you make use of your publishing society and bookprinters, Lev?

Vojtaššák: We printed various papers there...

President: Of what kind of content?

Vojtaššák: Well, we tried by means of them to support our policy.

President: Did you publish there also some pamphlets?

Vojtaššák: There was for instance—that was a pamphlet, published as a copy of a serial from the newspaper, "Holy Family": "Can a Catholic be a Social Democrat?"

Prosecutor: So it was of an anti-progressive, anti-socialist content, just as all your activity was consistently directed against progress, against Socialism.

Vojtaššák: Yes, you are right.

Prosecutor: Look, was it right to misuse the religious feelings of the people for anti-popular political aims?

Vojtaššák: Well...

Prosecutor: I would put another question. May I, Mr. President? (*The President consents.*) You told us that the program-

me of the Hlinka party suited you. You indicated, that you endeavoured to make your believers also adopt your stand-point. Tell us now, could your interests, the interests of the Bishop of Spiš, owner of some 10,000 jutes of soil, and woods, mills, saw-mills, etc. be identical with the endeavours and interests of the ordinary allowed persons, peasants and workers in your diocese? Yes or no?

Vojtaššák: There was a difference.

President: How did you stand with regard to the separatist endeavours of Hlinka's People's Party?

Vojtaššák: I identified myself with this separatism.

President: That is, you supported the disruptive policy of the Hlinkite party with all its consequences—up to its final aim, the breaking up of the First Republic. Do you admit this?

Vojtaššák: Well, it was so.

President: Now, to your activity during the so-called Slovak State. What function did you hold and how did you co-operate with this Tiso regime?

Vojtaššák: I associated myself with it.

President: Express yourself concretely.

Vojtaššák: I actively associated myself already when I took part in the proclamation of the Slovak State, and afterwards, besides this, I also accepted a political function in the State Council.

President: Did you get any recognition for this, any decoration from the government.

Vojtaššák: Yes, I was decorated with the "Grand-Cross of the Order of the Slovak Cross". Also I received from General Čatloš a special decree of distinction.

Prosecutor: Who agreed to your going or who sent you into the so-called State Council? What interests did you represent there?

Vojtaššák: I was invited and later on I was nominated by Tiso to the State Council. I then reported this to the Bishops' Council, which expressed its assent and sent me as its representative to this organ.

Prosecutor: What stand-point did the Papal Nuncio adopt towards this?

Vojtaššák: He agreed with it.

President: That means, that to the taking over of this political

function of member of the so-called State Council you had the consent also of the Vatican?

Prosecutor: Mr. President, I suggest, that document no. 1/84, which I submit, be made known, as a proof, that the Vatican by its consent to Vojtaššák's acceptance of the political function directly supported the fascist regime in Slovakia.

President: I find from the submitted document, that Bishop Vojtaššák sent to the Apostolic See a request for consent to accept the function of member of the State Council. This consent was given on October 11, 1943 and was signed by the Apostolic Nuncio, Angelus Rotta. (*Turns to the accused.*) So ardently you tried to get consent for political activity in favour of the then Tiso regime.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: And how did you view the political activity of the priests after the liberation? I would summarise it in short: were you during the People's Democratic regime against political activity by the priests?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: That means: for fascism—yes, for the people—no.

Vojtaššák: Well...

President: I quote from the submitted document: "Throwing myself at the feet of Your Holiness, I humbly beg Your Apostolic See..." So humbly you begged during the fascist regime in Slovakia, that the Vatican would allow you to carry out the function of a member of Tiso's State Council, didn't you?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: And is it true, that after the liberation you were against any political activity of the priests?

Vojtaššák: This is true.

President: That is sufficient. For fascism—yes, for the People's Democratic regime—no. So it is expressed in one sentence.

Vojtaššák: Well yes, so it is.

President: Did you fully identify yourself with the measures and orders taken by the so-called State Council?

Vojtaššák: Yes. I was a member and, therefore, I took part in all discussions.

President: How did you receive certain measures of the so-called State Council, aimed against the very basis of humanity? Can you tell us something about this?

Vojtaššák: They were those anti-Jewish measures.

President: Did you express yourself in any way against these orders? Were you indifferent to them?

Vojtaššák: I didn't speak against them.

President: On the contrary, you spoke of them very approvingly. Do you remember?

Vojtaššák: To a certain extent, yes.

Prosecutor: I suggest, Mr. President, that documents 1/3, 1/204, 1/205 be made known and then also documents 1/9, 1/93, 1/94, 2/18 and 1/206. They consist of shorthand minutes from the meetings of the so-called State Council. I submit them as a proof of the inhuman Pharisaical attitude of the accused to the problem of citizens of the Jewish race when the suggestion for its solution was discussed in the so-called State Council.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, I make known the document which is the shorthand minutes from the meeting of the State Council of the so-called Slovak State of February 3, 1943. At this meeting, where the deportation of the Jews was discussed, the accused, Vojtaššák, was also present. According to the minutes the accused said the following: "I have a suggestion: because people are not properly informed about this question, I suggest we publish a popular pamphlet. The Jews were trying to create sympathy for themselves, people were hiding them, because they thought that what was being done with the Jews was inhuman. People thought, that God-knows how badly the Jews were being treated, although in the camps, they can be quite well-off." (*Turning to the accused.*) In 1943 you already knew how the Jews were being treated in those camps. Didn't you hear anything about it?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I did hear.

President: Further, I find in the same document further statements of the accused, which elaborate his in fact un-Christian attitude to this question. Vojtaššák says here, "In Spišské Podhradie there still remains one Jew. In spite of the fact, that there are no economic reasons and in spite of the fact, that he is a Communist of long-standing, he is still there. His name is Lőrinc." To that Dr. Vašek answered, "To prove to you how promptly we execute our business, I shall immediately arrange to have the suggestion of the Bishop satisfactorily dealt with." Vojtaššák then went on, "I know him well. He was the biggest

scoundrel in Podhradie. They have taken all of them and deported them and he is still there." (*Turning to the accused.*) What did this mean?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: There is only one word for this: denunciation.

Vojtaššák: Can I offer an explanation?—At that time I probably interpreted what I had heard.

President: You try to shirk the responsibility. You try to wriggle out of this. Tell us, can that be reconciled with Christian teaching?

Vojtaššák: No.

Prosecutor: You sent Lörinc to his death. Do you not regret it, at least now?

Vojtaššák: I may be permitted to say, that Lörinc . . .

Prosecutor: Yes, that Lörinc is alive, but you cannot claim credit for that. He is alive like the few who returned. Do you regret what you did, or not?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I do regret it.

President: I further make known, on the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, further documents, and that is an entry of the State Council of 25th March, 1942, where the accused Vojtaššák after the economic report of Dr. Klinda, said this: "The Chairman of the Central Economic Office has read a report which concerned economic affairs . . ." and so on, and so on. And further: "With the exclusion of the Jews we have progressed, we have increased the balance." (*Turning to the accused.*) Are these not cynical words? The words of his Lordship the Bishop? We have increased the balance . . . the balance of our dead neighbours.

Vojtaššák: But, I didn't mean it like that.

President: Further, I state the content of the session of the State Council on 30th September, 1942, discussing the war against the Soviet Union. According to the short-hand minutes, General Čatloš gave a report on the military situation. On the Chairman's asking, Vojtaššák indicated that he wished to speak and delivered himself of the following: "I thank you for your report, but in the first place I must thank the General. As I am informed, he conducted himself in an admirable manner in the battle near Rostov, which was so decisive. I congratulate General Čatloš on so courageously appearing there." (*Turning to the accused.*) From this it is evident, that you expressed your approbation very

ardently and gladly. According to this you approved of this war, into which were forcibly driven also our Slovak sons, to fight at the side of the German fascists. From all of these documents, from all of your actions it is confirmed, that you fully approved of the fascist Tiso policy, didn't you?

Vojtaššák: Permit me to say, that I admit, that I approved of and participated in it.

Prosecutor: I have a question. Do you know everything that the Nazi hordes committed in the temporarily occupied Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR? They burned down villages, they murdered women, old people and children. Do you know about this?

Vojtaššák: I did hear something of it.

Prosecutor: And that can be reconciled with the conscience of a Catholic Bishop? Explain this to us.

Vojtaššák: Well no, that cannot be reconciled.

Prosecutor: Murders... Did you approve of mass murders, or not? By your speech, in which you congratulated Čatloš. It concerned after all Čatloš' participation in such murders.

Vojtaššák: It was an indirect approval.

President: Further, I make known document No. 1/9: a certain dean asks the accused, Vojtaššák, about the christening of a child of the Jewish faith; it is a letter from the parish office in Tvrdošín of June 25, 1942, the signature of the dean is illegible. It concerns the christening of the four-year-old daughter of a Ján Zehnūt. As this dean writes, "it is assumed, that in time they will carry off all the Jews and the parents by this christening would like to save at least their child and leave her with some Catholic family to be brought up, when they take them off to the labour camp."

To which the accused replied in a letter of 30th June of that same year among other things this: "The Jews in the present situation are catching even at straws. It is a vain hope, that they will act differently with this child if they have it christened, than with any other. So even Ján Zehnūt. When his turn comes, they will take away him, with his whole family including the child. Therefore, it would be superfluous to christen it. With an expression of love..." (*To the accused*): Did you send this?

Vojtaššák: Yes, because I had had experience of previous cases, where they made no exceptions in this respect.

Prosecutor: The Nazis made no exceptions, nor did you, a Bishop, as we have seen.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

Prosecutor: You are silent. You had experiences, then, but you never as a functionary of the State Council protested in any way against these deportations. Does that signify your absolutely approbational attitude to the policy of the fascist Tiso government?

Vojtaššák: This is how I behaved.

Prosecutor: Now I would ask you this: What principle had you in mind when you opposed this christening on the grounds that even then the child would have to go with its parents? You evidently had in mind the suggestion submitted to you, that Jewish families should not be split?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: You did not interfere in this, so that Jewish families should be left at home, but on the contrary, so that they should be taken off together. Is that it?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

Prosecutor: You are again silent. That is also a reply. When later on in the year 1943, citizens of the Jewish faith drew your attention to the horrors of the gas-chambers, what did you then do? What did you do with the letter in which these citizens confided in you?

Vojtaššák: After reading it I sent the letter to the appropriate place.

Prosecutor: What was the appropriate place?

Vojtaššák: The Ministry of Interior.

Prosecutor: To Šaňo Mach and the Central State Security. Your intention is clear: to inform on the writers and ensure their imprisonment. You knew very well that you were turning to the right place.

President: We shall proceed, if you please. I make known a further document, no. 1/94. It is a letter from the priest, Hatiar, to Bishop Vojtaššák, in which this Batizovce priest declares himself against the oath of allegiance to the Slovak State, he was to swear in the presence of the clerical congregation. Hatiar writes: "I shall swear this oath only on condition that I do not recognise the laws against the Jews." This was written by a simple priest. Hatiar ends his letter with this: "I beseech you for a kind

explanation and general satisfaction." (*He turns to the accused.*) Do you remember how you replied to this brave stand-point of your priest?

Vojtaššák: I don't even remember his letter.

President: I'll show you it. And I'll read to you what you replied on 5th May, 1939.

Vojtaššák: I cannot remember everything.

(*The President hands the quoted document to the accused and the accused confirms, that it is his letter.*)

President: I shall now read to you your reply: "Your Reverence, when acquainting yourself with the laws on the Jews, you did not draw the correct conclusions." He, that is, writes, that this law is against the teaching of the Catholic Church. He comprehended it very well and you denied it. Further you continue, "This law refers to the Jews exclusively as a nationality and the State has the right and even the duty to adjust the relation among its nationalities by law. From this Your Reverence can see you were mistaken in your assertion." The letter closes with your signature and your seal.

Vojtaššák: The letter could have been prepared for me by the Vicar-general and I only added my signature.

President: That is beside the point. What is important is your stand-point, which is identified by the contents of this letter and which with your signature you fully confirm. You cannot deny this.

Vojtaššák: Yes, Mr. President, I have to answer for it.

President: Was this priest from Batizovce right?

Vojtaššák: He was right.

Prosecutor: As Vice-Chairman of the so-called State Council, you voted for and approved, all its resolutions. How much more honest was this priest of yours.

President: Do you hold yourself jointly responsible for these criminal actions?

Vojtaššák: I was a member of the State Council. Then I bear the responsibility for everything which it committed.

President: What exactly did you promise yourself from Tiso's regime, for what were you striving?

Vojtaššák: Well. Tiso's regime, as I have already mentioned, suited me from the economic point of view, in that it granted special privileges to the high Catholic hierarchy.

Prosecutor: So we are back again to your power positions, to the economic position of the Slovak hierarchy, which was your only interest, which you wanted to strengthen; in these endeavours of yours you rightly leaned on the Tiso fascist regime, which meant for you a definite guarantee.

Vojtaššák: There were then given possibilities...

President: Do you remember any aryanisation?

Vojtaššák: I did not personally look for this property. All this was acquired for the bishopric.

President: Who received and disposed of the income from this property?

Vojtaššák: The Bishop.

President: And who was Bishop there?

Vojtaššák: At that time I was.

President: Which property was aryanised?

Vojtaššák: In Betlanovce there was a farm property of about 160 cadastral jutes and further there was a sort of spa unit which covered about 35 cadastral jutes. These were bought for the bishopric.

President: We have already said that the income from this property was disposed of by you.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: It was not merely some kind of a spa, it was the natural spring, Sivá brada, it was completely equipped for the tapping of these mineral waters: it was a recreation centre.

Prosecutor: It concerned a property of millions. How much did you pay for it? The full equivalent?

Vojtaššák: I paid 420,000 crowns.

Prosecutor: This is also an explanation of why after the liberation you pertinaciously prevented the property, acquired through aryanisation, from being returned to its original owner, or left under the National Administration.

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

Prosecutor: I suggest that firstly document 1/113, convicting the accused of trying to preventing the return of this property, through the restitutional procedure, and secondly the aryanisation file, be made known. I submit both documents.

President: I state from the files of the Central Economic Office in Bratislava no. 66543/III A-7 of the year 1941, that by a decision

of this office of March 28, 1942, the property of racially persecuted Ladislav Fried, consisting of a spa, farm property and a business in mineral waters in Baldovce, has been transferred to Ján Vojtaššák, Bishop of Spiš. The liquidation value was fixed at 426,820 crowns in spite of the fact that the real value, as shown by the attached restitution file of the District Court in Levoča, was many times that amount. Further, I make known the second submitted document, no. 1/113, a letter of 13th August, 1947 from Dr. Obtulovič, solicitor in Bratislava, and legal representative for the Spiš bishopric, confirming how the accused Vojtaššák tried through the medium of his solicitor, to prevent the legal restitution of the property in Baldovce. Obtulovič, himself, writes that a number of people associated themselves with this action in 1947, that he several times intervened but in spite of that he did not succeed in concluding the matter favourably. Has the accused Vojtaššák any remarks to this?

Vojtaššák: No, I agree.

President: Are there any further questions?

(There were no questions.)

I interrupt the session, we shall continue at two o'clock in the afternoon.

President: I declare open again the interrupted trial. We continue with the hearing of the accused, Vojtaššák.

(Vojtaššák steps forward.)

President: Were there, besides the State Council, any other organisations which you supported during the so-called Slovak State?

Vojtaššák: Chiefly the Hlinka Youth and the Hlinka Guard. These organisations applied to the episcopal office to appoint clerical advisers to them and I granted them their requests.

President: What political flavour had the Hlinka Youth?

Vojtaššák: Its political tendency was a subject for the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. It was adequate for the Tuka-Tiso regime, the fascist regime.

Lay Judge: On what model was the Hlinka Guard trained?

Vojtaššák: I don't understand.

Lay Judge: When you spoke about the Hlinka Youth and the Hlinka Guard, you must have known on what model and according to what policy they were trained.

President: The Lay Judge wants to remind you, that both the Hlinka Guard and the Hlinka Youth used to send their leaders to Germany for instruction. That was generally known and it was written about in the newspapers, so you knew of it. Were you aware that both of these organisations were pillars of the so-called Slovak State?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: We proceed. At the time when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, it immediately became known what atrocities the Nazis were committing in the Soviet Ukraine. How did you try to mask the impression on the believers of the reports of these atrocities committed by the Nazis and their accomplices, the Hlinka guardists?

Vojtaššák: I learned about this from a letter from Bishop Čársky. He wrote me, that the Consul had been to see him with the request that counter-propaganda should be developed against the reports of these inhumanities and atrocities. He pointed out to me that it was all being spread by the radio. I had my own ideas about the radio. I was annoyed with the radio. I had not, myself, a receiver, I did not listen to the radio and from a sort of animosity to the radio I wrote to Čársky, that if it depended on me, I would have wireless-sets confiscated and would leave sets only in public services.

President: This animosity revealed itself only when reports from foreign radio stations were being spread about how the Nazis and Hlinka guardists were committing atrocities in the Soviet Union.

Vojtaššák: I did not know about it.

Prosecutor: You are not speaking the truth, and I submit a document, which will convict you of falsehood.

President: Your initiative suggestion of confiscating all wireless-sets was aimed at making impossible listening in to foreign broadcasts.

Vojtaššák: I was only thinking about sets in private use.

President: So that the public could not listen in to foreign broadcasts. By this you clearly manifested your support for Nazi Germany, didn't you?

Vojtaššák: One could explain it like that.

Prosecutor: As an elucidation of Vojtaššák's attitude towards the Hitlerite occupants, I suggest that document no. 1/5 be made known. I hereby submit it.

President: On the suggestion of the Prosecutor, I make known the content of a letter from Bishop Čársky to the accused Vojtaššák about the danger of the whisper campaign in favour of the Soviet Union. In the letter, headed Prešov, 10th July, 1941, Bishop Čársky wrote to Vojtaššák, that, together with Bishop Gojdič, at the suggestion of the German Consulate, he ventured to ask whether it would not be a good thing to issue a Pastoral letter against Bolshevism. The letter ends with the words: "I have given our priests instructions to use against this whisper campaign, a whisper campaign, as people are more likely to believe it." In Vojtaššák's written reply, dated 11th July, 1941, are the words: "As they are fighting at the front, so must we fight in the hinterland. By sermons, encyclicals and Pastoral letters nothing would be achieved. First of all it would be necessary to confiscate all private wireless-sets."

Prosecutor: Isn't it clear how weak your excuses are? It proves that with your suggestion you wanted to help the Nazis in their predatory attack on the Soviet Union. Were you aware, that the fate of the fascist Tiso State was dependent on the fate of Hitler's Reich?

Vojtaššák: I was aware of this, I admit it.

President: Do you recognise among the submitted documents the letter just read out?

Vojtaššák: (Examines the documents.) Yes, I do recognise it.

President: Did you hold during the so-called Slovak State the function of highest Military Cleric?

Vojtaššák: That was right at the beginning. Later Suffragan Bishop Buzalka was appointed as Military Vicar.

Prosecutor: In your function of highest cleric did you concern yourself with stiffening the fighting spirit or breaking down the morale of the troops?

Vojtaššák: I did not interfere with the clerical administration of the troops.

Prosecutor: You are not speaking the truth, as I shall prove to you. You didn't do anything, even later when you knew that in September, 1939 they were using Tiso's army in the assault on Catholic Poland. Is it so?

Vojtaššák: It is so.

Prosecutor: For elucidation I submit to the Senate convicting documents as a proof, that the accused Bishop Vojtaššák did not

speak the truth and that he did interfere with the clerical administration of the Eastern Army. Here is documents no. 1/95 and 1/12, as a proof, that Vojtaššák freed priests for service at the Eastern Front.

President: I make these two documents known. They are photographs, taken at the occasion of the welcoming of soldiers of Tiso's army after their return from the Eastern Front, where the accused apparently after the solemnising of Field Mass, in the company of officers with Nazi Knight crosses, is welcoming the members of the army.

President: Please, are these your photographs? (*He hands them to the accused.*)

Vojtaššák: They are the actual photographs. I am there, but I cannot recall, that at that time I officiated at Field Mass.

Prosecutor: I do not see any distinction, when you welcomed the soldiers, returning from the fratricidal fight against the USSR. Was it support of Tiso's regime?

Vojtaššák: They called on me at that time and I spoke to the soldiers. I thanked them for having defended the frontiers of Slovakia, and also the frontiers of the diocese.

Prosecutor: Were the frontiers of Slovakia at Rostov?

Vojtaššák: Well, no.

President: You said, that you thanked them for the defence of the frontiers of Slovakia and the diocese. The frontiers of Slovakia you saw, however, far from your diocese.

I further make known document 1/95, which also convicts Vojtaššák of co-operation with the fascist Tiso regime. It is his reply of 11th December, 1943 to the letter of the Ministry of National Defence, where the accused mentions the names of priests, released for pastoral duties with the troops at the Eastern Front. The letter ends with the greeting, "On guard".

Prosecutor: During the making known of the previous document, you said, that you welcomed the troops because, it was said, that they had defended even our frontiers in Poland. But you first of all gave thanks on this subject in the State Council, as has already been stated. After all, you also thanked Čatloš in the session of the State Council for his "brave" conduct in the battle at Rostov.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: Was that also a matter of the defence of the frontiers of Slovakia?

Vojtaššák: No.

Prosecutor: What was that a matter of? Of the invasion of the USSR, of murders, of burning of villages, of the dragging off of women, children and old people to Germany. Did it concern all this or not?

Vojtaššák: That could have happened.

Prosecutor: And you gave thanks for it.

President: Now further with regard to these deeds of which the indictment finds you guilty. Had you contact with any other institutions of the so-called Slovak State, for example with Tiso's police?

Vojtaššák: Tiso's police once turned to the episcopal office with an enquiry about a priest who was working on the territory of the Polish Orava. It was a certain Karol Machaj. Tiso's police wrote, that he was working against the Slovak State and that he should, therefore, be removed.

President: Yes. But first of all generally. When a part of Polish territory fell to the so-called Slovak State, some priests of Polish nationality also remained with us. Machaj was only one concrete case; tell us something with regard to these priests of Polish nationality.

Vojtaššák: In Spiš and in Orava in 1939 some priests remained who were not from a Spiš diocese but from a Polish. Therefore, Machaj worded his letter to the effect that the activity of these priests on Slovak soil was undesirable.

President: Hadn't you, yourself, about a year beforehand, called these Polish priests to you for some reason?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I wanted to know whether these priests of Polish nationality from the Cracow archdiocese wished to remain in the clerical administration and in the Spiš diocese.

President: It is certain, that they remained. Mach then wrote to you, that the Slovak government did not wish them to be here. What did you then do, at the end of 1942?

Vojtaššák: I received Mach's appeal, that they should be removed from their places. I informed them of this government order and told them, that if they did not obey and did not act as the State wished, they would indeed be removed.

Vojtaššák: I warned them to inform us, the Bishops' Council,

when they left, so that we could make the necessary arrangements. I warned them, too, that after their leaving the parish everything that belonged to the parish and the church must remain in its place.

President: Do you still remember what you wrote to these priests regarding their personal property?

Vojtaššák: Regarding movables I wrote them, that they were not allowed to take them away, but that they must leave them here and eventually sell them.

President: Do you know, that the money for these movables was never remitted to them?

Vojtaššák: I have no knowledge of that, I did not bother about the matter any more.

President: Thank you.

Prosecutor: I suggest, that document 1/19 be made known and also, that the attached correspondence with the Central State Security be made known.

President: The Court makes known the submitted document. Here is a letter from the chief of the Central State Security of 8. 11. 1940 to the accused Vojtaššák on the matter of these Polish priests. Further, here is a letter of the accused of 4th April, 1940 to the priest, Vojtas, where among other things he writes, "Priests, leaving for Poland, for the gubernate, leave here all their money." Further, Vojtaššák informs the chief of the Central State Security, in a letter of 12. 11. 1940, that there are now no Polish priests in his diocese. All these letters end with the fascist greeting, "On guard". (*He turns to the accused.*) These are the original letters, do you agree?

Vojtaššák: I agree.

Prosecutor: I have another question. You corresponded with Tiso's police. Do you know, that Tiso's police was the institution which put people into the concentration camp at Ilava?

Vojtaššák: I did hear of it.

Prosecutor: And that they put there even unreliable priests?

Vojtaššák: I knew of one priest.

Prosecutor: That suffices.

President: From what you have already said, it follows, that you saw a close connection between the existence of the so-called Slovak State and Hitlerite Germany. What danger to the power position of the Church hierarchy did you see in the case of the

defeat of Nazi Germany and what did you then conclude from it? What precautions did you then take?

Vojtaššák: I knew, that with Nazi Germany would fall in fact also the Slovak State. With that would come also changes in public life. It was necessary to prepare oneself for it and cover oneself. I knew, that from the East an ideological tendency would penetrate, a progressive one, and it would be necessary to strengthen and better organise the Church from within to be capable of resisting this tendency.

President: Did you know it would come to an economic-social change?

Vojtaššák: I knew, that the capitalist system would give place to the socialist.

President: Which would have suited you better?

Vojtaššák: The capitalist system would have suited me better.

President: In what way?

Vojtaššák: The bishopric was somehow safe-guarded on the economic, material side.

President: Can you claim, that any violence was enacted against the Church, against religion, when the working people after the liberation took power into their own hands? Were any churches closed?

Vojtaššák: I cannot claim that.

President: What did you fear from the downfall of the capitalist system? You said, that capitalism guaranteed the economic, power position of the Church.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: You said, that when deciding between the capitalist and socialist systems, you chose the capitalist, which means with all its consequences, with wealth on one side and poverty and unemployment on the other.

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

President: And what provisions did you make?

Vojtaššák: We tried to take some steps to save Church properties from being divided up and also on the school question, so that there would be church schools.

President: What instructions did you give at the end of 1944 to the priest, Galan, concerning the Trade Union Movement?

Vojtaššák: I instructed him, as a chaplain in Ružomberok, to look after the workers in the textile factory there.

President: In what way?

Vojtaššák: To carry out there cultural work and oppose eventual Marxist tendencies and their spreading.

President: To hinder the progressive movement among the workers, to see that the Trade Union Movement would break down. What instructions did you give him? On whom had he to concentrate?

Vojtaššák: He had to concentrate on the workers who were members of the Trade Union association.

President: Precisely expressed: former priests were to be planted there at the change-over of the regime, as a disruptive cell in the Trade Union Movement.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: Precisely expressed: it concerned anti-State activity. That you knew what it was about, is proved by the fact, that Galan was afterwards sentenced by the State Court to eight year's imprisonment for anti-State activity.

Vojtaššák: I know, that he published pamphlets of a smallish size to help his work among the workers.

President: He also collected various information from the factories, which he then passed on to you. What did you do with these reports of an espionage nature?

Vojtaššák: I used to get reports from him, but these were only for myself.

Prosecutor: Well, we shall come to that later on, to your espionage activity.

President: In what other way did you support the Nazi military machine? By what instructions to the believers?

Vojtaššák: The episcopal office informed me once, that an alleged military officer had requested me to inform the believers, that they might work on Sundays on military works.

President: So you ordered all the believers obediently to fulfil the orders of the Nazis, to work on the fortifications?

Vojtaššák: The respective letter was compiled by the office and, in fact, I only signed it.

President: So you want to justify yourself by the mere addition of your signature?

Vojtaššák: Whether I drafted it or not, I bear the responsibility for it.

President: It was direct support for Nazi armament, for the

Front was nearing our frontier, and our people were already bleeding.

Vojtaššák: At that time there was a state of war.

Lay Judge: After the war when everything was destroyed and Sunday brigades were devised, did you also give your consent for Sunday work?

Vojtaššák: No. The Bishops' Council several times turned to the respective governmental circles with the request, that Sundays and holidays should not be disturbed by work of a heavier nature.

President: So, a negative attitude even to the National Shift after the February victory?

Vojtaššák: We did not take it, we only decided...

President: For the Nazis—obediently, readily, immediately; for the constructive effort for a happier life—nothing. For the prolongation of the horrors of war—yes; for peaceful building—no. That is how it is, in fact.

President: I now interrupt the session for fifteen minutes.

(After a short interval)

President: We continue the hearing of the accused Vojtaššák.

(The accused Vojtaššák steps forward.)

President: Tell us about your activity after the liberation of the Republic. Explain how it came about and when, you were released after your arrest.

Vojtaššák: At that time I asked my solicitor, Dr. Obtulovič, for help.

President: Once more, do you know why you were arrested?

Vojtaššák: Well—as an exponent of Tiso's regime.

President: Continue.

Vojtaššák: My solicitor intervened in my favour in the appropriate places.

President: With whom did he intervene?

Vojtaššák: With the Chairman of the Democratic Party, Dr. Lettrich.

President: Did Obtulovič, when you were released, tell you who had strived most for your release?

Vojtaššák: Obtulovič told me later, that it was Dr. Lettrich and Canon Cvinček who had done the most for me.

President: An exponent of the Democratic Party.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: What else did Dr. Obtulovič tell you?

Vojtaššák: Obtulovič informed me, that I had somehow to repay for my release, that in the coming elections to parliament I should influence the believers in my diocese to support his party.

President: And what did you do then?

Vojtaššák: I promised to support the Democratic Party.

President: Did you keep this promise?

Vojtaššák: I gave instructions to the clergy on how the Catholic believers were to vote in the coming elections.

President: That they were to cast their votes for the Democratic Party?

Vojtaššák: *(Remains silent.)*

Prosecutor: You said, that the programme of the Democratic Party suited you, because it aimed at the restoration of capitalism. Did this programme also suit the ordinary believers in Orava and Spiš?

Vojtaššák: Well, when we consider, that this party desired the return to the capitalist system as it was beforehand, then its programme was not to the advantage of the working people.

Prosecutor: No, for even you know, that capitalism means unemployment, reduction of industry in Slovakia, shooting at the unemployed workers—I suggest, that the pre-election letter of the accused to his subordinate clergy be made known.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, the letter of the accused Vojtaššák, which he sent to his subordinate priests before the elections in 1946, is made known. The accused appeals to them to prevail on the believers to vote for the former Democratic Party.

President: Is this the letter which you signed in your own handwriting? *(Submits it to the accused.)*

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: In a further letter, addressed to the Internunciature in Prague, the accused writes, that he is sending information, together with his indictment and statement, concerning the proceedings according to the Act of Retribution. He requests the Internunciature to intervene in his affair. The information was of an espionage nature. Did you send similar reports also to anybody else?

Vojtaššák: Also to Archbishop Kmeťko.

President: What did the Archbishop need these reports for?

Vojtaššák: Archbishop Kmeťko had a partiality for statistical data from all departments.

President: For what did he need these espionage reports?

Vojtaššák: I should think he wanted to send them off.

President: Where to?

Vojtaššák: I don't know where they were sent.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court the letter from Archbishop Kmeťko of May 26, 1946, in which he requests Vojtaššák to collect and to despatch reports, which apparently were of an espionage nature.

President: I make known documents proving how the accused, Vojtaššák, sent espionage reports to Archbishop Kmeťko. These reports he gained by means of his own espionage network in his diocese.

President: Are these your signatures? (*Shows drafts of espionage reports.*)

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: From the further submitted document, it is found, that the accused, Vojtaššák, had forced the lower clergy to misuse their functions for assembling these reports.

Prosecutor: Does such an activity, as organising an espionage network and sending reports, belong also to the function of a Bishop?

Vojtaššák: Well, if the episcopal office asked for it, well, that office was superior to me, as a Bishop, later on as an Archbishop, as a senior Bishop, he was my superior.

President: Only in Church questions, if he had asked for reports about missions, but these were not reports about missions.

Vojtaššák: I was convinced, that Archbishop Kmeťko needed them for his mission affairs, but in any case, he liked to have statistical data on other matters, too.

President: You know, yourself, that they had nothing to do with missions.

Vojtaššák: I am speaking only hypothetically, for he was in charge of missions, too.

President: What did you think, for what did he need those reports which had nothing to do with religion?

Vojtaššák: I don't know. Perhaps he wanted to send them off somewhere.

President: And don't you know to whom?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

Prosecutor: I suggest, that document no. 1/201, confirming Vojtaššák's espionage activity, be made known.

President: I make known the submitted document, which is a letter of Archbishop Kmeťko to the accused, Vojtaššák, of May 26, 1946, in which Kmeťko requests the assembling of espionage reports. The accused then worked out precise directives which the episcopal office of the Spiš chapter then issued to all deaneries, as to how and what they should ascertain. These instructions are signed by Ján Vojtaššák. Attached here are also reports, delivered by parish offices in response to this appeal.

(He turns to the accused.) Do you recognise these letters? Yes?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: Do you admit, that espionage remains espionage, murder murder, even when it is done under orders? Do you admit that?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Did any one from abroad request you for espionage reports?

Vojtaššák: Once a priest from New York, Krasula, turned to me. He wanted to get some information.

President: Did you send it to him?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I sent the requested information to New York.

President: Tell us something about your contact with Sidor.

Vojtaššák: Sidor wrote to me about in the year 1946—47, I don't know who brought the letter as I wasn't at home, but I found the letter on my writing desk, where the messenger had left it. I don't know who it was. Sidor asked me to destroy the letter after reading it.

Lay Judge: What did you do with the letter?

Vojtaššák: I read the letter and then I left it and forgot about it.

President: This letter contained information for the centre of disruptive activity against our Republic. Did you condemn these people?—Did they work for or against the Republic?

Vojtaššák: Against the Republic.

Prosecutor: In what manner did Ďurčanský and Sidor want to break up the Republic?

Vojtaššák: I don't know.

Prosecutor: By means of war, everyone in Slovakia knows that, by war.

President: Why did Sidor turn directly to you and why did he inform you in particular in such detail about this anti-State activity?

Vojtaššák: Sidor wanted to win me over eventually to his anti-State activity and did not want me to be won by Ďurčanský.

President: About what did Sidor appeal to you in his letter?

Vojtaššák: To write to my friends in America, especially to the priest, Krasula, and so eventually to support his actions.

President: It concerned traitors, Ďurčanský and Sidor, and their anti-State activities and it was in this connection, that Sidor wrote to you. You wrote, that it grieved you, that there were differences between Ďurčanský and Sidor.

Vojtaššák: One of them had a group and the other had a group, too.

President: But with the same aim. Sidor's and Ďurčanský's aim was common—to destroy the Republic. Did you know of it?

Vojtaššák: Yes, to destroy the Republic.

President: To destroy the Republic and quite naturally, the accused, Vojtaššák, joined this association. Did Sidor write to you to use your influence in America and did you comply with this?

Vojtaššák: I complied with this request.

President: It was your desire, that Sidor and Ďurčanský reconcile their differences, so that they could work more effectively and unitedly for the breaking up of the Republic.

Vojtaššák: I knew, that there had been quarrels between Sidor and Ďurčanský even beforehand.

President: At that time it didn't worry you, because a fascist Slovak State existed. It worried you only now and, therefore, you wanted them to smooth out their differences, so that they could continue their fight against the Republic more unitedly. Was this your desire?

Vojtaššák: I admit, this is what I had in mind.

Prosecutor: I submit a further document no. 1/47 about the contact of the accused, Vojtaššák, with the inimical emigré movement abroad.

President: The document, submitted by the State Prosecutor, is made known. It is a letter with Ján Vojtaššák's signature in his own handwriting, addressed to all Bishops, in which he suggests,

that the collection of 10,000 dollars, which the American Slovaks had collected for the reconstruction of Slovakia, should be given for the needs of the emigrés abroad. *(He turns to the accused.)* Have a look... Is it your letter and is the signature yours?

Vojtaššák: Yes, it is my signature.

President: You decided at that time, that the public should not find out about this money.

Vojtaššák: I can't remember that, Mr. President.

Prosecutor: What do you think, would the ordinary believer have agreed with this action of yours?

Vojtaššák: I think not.

Prosecutor: I submit a further document, no. 1/51, which proves the contact of the accused, Vojtaššák, with Sidor and Ďurčanský, and his disruptive activity.

President: The document, submitted by the State Prosecutor, is made known. It is a letter from the traitor, Sidor, to the accused Vojtaššák. Sidor in his letter to Vojtaššák writes among other things about Ďurčanský, "Ďurčanský writes about his successes, but that is boasting. Ďurčanský, they say, has already shown you the results of his work. It's my duty to defend also Šprinc, who, too, fled abroad in June, 1946 to the U.S."

Vojtaššák: Šprinc came from our Spiš diocese.

President: (Reads from the letter): "And is working here very nicely."

Prosecutor: What do you understand by "He is working very nicely"?

Vojtaššák: Well, if Sidor says, that he is working very nicely, then he was certainly working like that.

President: Against our People's Democratic Republic.

Vojtaššák: That was his intention.

President: What did you have in mind, when you said, that you were not for our regime?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: Did you work for the benefit of the Republic?

Vojtaššák: No.

Prosecutor: I submit further documents about the contacts of the accused.

President: Document 1/52, which convicts the accused Vojtaššák of having contact with the treasonable emigrés in the U.S., is made known. It is a letter from the priest, Dubosch, from the

U.S. sent to Vojtaššák, in which he writes: "Be informed, that we have done everything possible in favour of Tiso. We visited the State Department of the U.S. at least six times. I, personally, spoke to Cardinal Spellman, who will undertake everything possible ..."

Further, it is ascertained, that Ďurčanský turned in a letter to Vojtaššák with the request for financial support for the publishing of an anti-State book. (*Turns to the accused.*) How was this letter delivered to you?

Vojtaššák: An unknown person came to the episcopal office.

President: And what was in the letter?

Vojtaššák: In one letter he informed me, that after Ďurčanský's action with the Slovak Action Committee, differences among the emigrés had arisen.

President: This is what he described as how they were working abroad against our Republic. And did you inform the State Security that you had received such a letter?

Vojtaššák: I forgot to, really, I forgot to.

President: You not only "forgot", but you answered him in this matter as we have already said.

Vojtaššák: I wrote to him, that it grieved me, that Slovaks abroad were not in harmony.

President: It wasn't the Slovaks, but Sidor and Ďurčanský and their anti-State activity, who were grieving you, because in this matter they were not working in unity. Did you know, that it was their aim to destroy the Republic?

Vojtaššák: Yes, to destroy the Republic.

Prosecutor: Can one buy anything here for money, say clothes, shoes, bread?

Vojtaššák: One can.

Prosecutor: You see, and you sent abroad reports, that money here has no value.

Vojtaššák: I wrote that sometime in 1948 or at the beginning of 1949.

President: You sent abroad such slanderous material against our Republic. What has that to do with religious activity?

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

Prosecutor: In the same report you also wrote, that, in your opinion, it was impossible to fight the present regime successfully with internal forces.

Vojtaššák: Yes. Not with internal forces, but only by the intervention of the Almighty.

Prosecutor: You mean from Wall Street, from the U.S. If not from within, then from without, that means you counted on a war.

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

Prosecutor: I suggest, that document no. I/170, proving the kind of reports the accused sent abroad, be made known.

President: I find, that the submitted document concerns Vojtaššák's report, sent to the Vatican through the Internunciature. The report contains twelve pages of espionage information and slanderous statements about Czechoslovakia. The report is of October 16, 1948.

(*Turns to the accused.*)

Did you know, that also here at home some illegal organisations were trying to develop some activity, aimed at the disruption of the Republic?

Vojtaššák: I did not know of this.

President: Didn't you get anything, that would indicate that?

Vojtaššák: In 1946 I received a letter from an illegal organisation, which called itself the organisation loyal to President Tiso.

President: Then why did you at first reply to my question, that you did not know anything about it?

Vojtaššák: I completely forgot about that letter and omitted to hand it over to the State Security.

President: Why did they turn to you with such confidence?

Vojtaššák: They thought, I was of the same opinion as they were.

President: Why did you not act so that such anti-State, disruptive elements would be rendered ineffective?

Vojtaššák: I was at fault.

Prosecutor: Do you still maintain, that you forgot to inform the State Security about this letter?

Vojtaššák: If I had realised it was of such a dangerous nature, I would have handed it over.

Prosecutor: It is only natural, that you didn't want to do this, for they expressly stated, that they regarded you as their leader. I submit this letter to be made known.

President: Document no. 1/34 is made known. It is a letter from an illegal, anti-State organisation of July 25, 1946, addressed to

the accused, which he secretly hid. (*Submits this letter to the accused.*) Is this the letter?

Vojtaššák: Yes, but I don't remember hiding it secretly.

President: Tell us, what measures did you take in your fight against the governmental programme, against the People's Democratic order, against priests, who decided to co-operate in the reconstruction of our Republic? Think back to the case of chaplain Doranský from Orava, whom you punished, because he stood for the National Assembly.

Vojtaššák: Yes—I remember.

President: Did you suspend him?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: How did you make use of this case?

Vojtaššák: I informed the other Bishops of this step of mine, so that they could act similarly.

Prosecutor: You inflicted Church penalties on a priest, who had worked in public life for the people. Did you inflict at least in one case Church penalties on a priest for taking part in anti-State activity?

Vojtaššák: I didn't do that.

Prosecutor: Did you inflict suspension on priests, who, because of collaboration during the so-called Slovak State, left for abroad?

Vojtaššák: We did not know which priests, where ...

President: Sidor wrote to you about one. That letter addressed to you was made known here, but that priest was not prosecuted.

Vojtaššák: He was not.

Prosecutor: You inflicted Church penalties on those who worked for the people and for the Republic, but you helped those who worked against the Republic to the extent, that the Bishops' Council even embezzled money which was collected for our ordinary people.

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

President: What was the climax of the endeavours of the high Church hierarchy to concentrate all reactionary forces on resisting the People's Democratic regime? Do you remember an agreement between the high Church hierarchy and the Democratic Party?

Vojtaššák: It was actually a question of Church property.

President: Do you remember the Bishops' conference on 9th February, 1948?

Vojtaššák: The conference was in Prague. I pronounced the

opinion, that we should appeal to journalists of a number of newspapers, who would be willing to write something about this.

President: You were concerned with the protection of Church property. Why did you not address yourselves to the ordinary believers? Were the working people of the same opinion as you?

Vojtaššák: They were not.

President: That's the reason why you did not turn to the masses?

Prosecutor: You are convinced, that the ordinary working people and the ordinary peasants would not have supported you in these matters?

Vojtaššák: I think, on the contrary.

Prosecutor: How many middle farmers could have been supported on the 23,000 cadastral jutes which the Spiš diocese owned?

Vojtaššák: I don't know.

Prosecutor: So I'll tell you. About 2,300 middle farmers. You didn't think about that?

Vojtaššák: That was not considered.

Prosecutor: Did you know, that tens of thousands of ordinary people from Orava or from Spiš emigrated to America for work?

Vojtaššák: I knew that.

President: And why did they emigrate? Because they could not earn a living in these regions.

Prosecutor: Were you against the industrialisation of Slovakia, or not?

Vojtaššák: I was for the one and for the other. For industrialisation and against. (*Laughter in the Court-room.*)

President: Silence, please. What was your attitude to the all-State organisation of youth, to its united leadership, to the Youth Railway and to the National Shift? Did you support these organisations or actions?

Vojtaššák: No.

President: You worked against them. How did you work against the union of youth?

Vojtaššák: I did not recommend it.

President: And to the building of the Youth Railway?

Vojtaššák: I took a negative attitude. I sent a letter to all Bishops, that it was in fact a cultural scandal.

President: A cultural scandal, that our youth was building the Republic! You wrote this. And what stand-point did you take towards the National Shift?

Vojtaššák: Negative.

President: What attitude did you take towards the fortification work for the Nazis?

Vojtaššák: I permitted that.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court to be made known documents which concern this activity of the accused.

President: I make known document 1/13 which is a letter of the accused, *Vojtaššák*, of 3. 10. 1944, addressed to all Roman Catholic parish offices in Spiš, in which he writes, "Re: Working duties on Sunday. The episcopal office in agreement with the High Command for military defence work in Spiš, informs the reverend parish offices in Spiš, that they should inform their believers, who are permitted Sunday and holiday fortification work, that they can start work already at eight o'clock at their place of work. Kindly bring this arrangement to the knowledge of your believers as soon as possible in a suitable manner and explain, that this work arises from today's military situation and that therefore, they should not be scandalised nor regard it as a sinful transgression against the consecration of Sundays and holidays. With the Archbishop's blessing, Ján, Bishop."

I further make known document 1/157 which is a letter to all deaneries in the Spiš chapter of 24th April, 1948, in which priests are informed of the resolution of the Bishops' conference of 22nd April, 1948 in Žilina, where a negative attitude was adopted towards the National Shifts. (*Turns to the accused.*)

President: Is this your signature? (*Submits the document.*)

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Further there is your letter of 17th April, 1948, in which you suggest to the other ordinariates, that in connection with the National Shifts they should employ the words, "they have met with great ill-will", the words, "general resistance" and in the ninth clause you suggest instead of the word "suggest", "demand", or—as you write—"it behoves us to demand and not to suggest". In this letter you even use the words, "it is necessary to awaken the people from this stuporous and fatal narcotic which is being waved under their noses". Signed *Vojtaššák*.

You very willingly served the Nazi occupants. Do you know, that the ordinary priests were not so obliging towards the Nazis as you were? As proof of this, the Court makes known a further

document, a letter from a priest in Brezov of 25th October, 1944 to the episcopal office ...

Vojtaššák: May I look at that letter, Mr. President? I do not recognise the letter.

President: Certainly. But I would point out, that it is not your letter but a letter which a priest in Brezov sent to the episcopal office in Prešov and in which he refers to you, too. He writes in it, "I have to inform you, that I have met difficulties again. On Sunday there was supposed to be work with the German High Command, who wanted a strong force to dig trenches ... a certain inspector of the trenches brandished the permit from the most reverend ordinarate and he brought with him also the German translation of a letter from the most reverend episcopal office of Spiš ... Only after convincing the inspector did they abandon the digging of trenches on Sunday."

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: We have already stated, that you took severe measures against clerical persons of progressive opinions. You recalled the case of the priest, Doranský. Can you recall any other concrete case?

Vojtaššák: I do not remember.

President: You do not recall Scheffer?

Vojtaššák: He was a cleric who took part in the signing of the Manifesto of the Catholic Action in July, 1949. He afterwards welcomed to Banská Bystrica Dechet, who had been suspended for canonical reasons because of his disobedience.

President: By whom?

Vojtaššák: By the diocesan Bishop.

Prosecutor: Were the canonical regulations modified so that priests could be politically active?

Vojtaššák: They were not modified.

President: During the so-called Slovak State the high Church hierarchy forced the clergy into political life and now it forbids them.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: Look here, this disruptive activity of the Church hierarchy directed against our People's Democratic regime was considered beforehand, was co-ordinated by some plan, or how ...?

Vojtaššák: This was discussed at the Bishops' conferences.

Prosecutor: So that was how it was co-ordinated and planned.

While our people were building, you were planning at the Bishops' conferences anti-State activity.

President: In which Bishops' conferences did you take part, and what was discussed at them?

Vojtaššák: After the liberation I took part in the all-State conference at the beginning of 1948.

President: Was it that Prague conference in the Archbishop's palace?

Vojtaššák: It was convened by Archbishop Beran and the primary question discussed there was that of Church property.

President: Naturally the primary question as the subject of your negotiations was the property question.

Vojtaššák: Another conference, as I remember, was at Nitra about September, 1948. I was invited to it, too, by Archbishop Beran. There, too, we went through the business of Church property.

President: What else did you discuss at these conferences?

Vojtaššák: That we should deliver our post among ourselves by secret messengers.

President: That is, illegally, for it concerned anti-State material. Did you, too, use this messenger service? Who carried it out?

Vojtaššák: Subordinate clerks of the episcopal office. Besides this, I sent two letters to the Nunciature in Prague by a university student who was studying in Prague.

President: What else did you discuss at the Bishops' conferences?

Vojtaššák: Some priests had not convinced their ecclesiastical superiors of their obedience and, therefore, were considered unreliable.

President: Unreliable for you. Those, who were reliable for the People's Democratic regime, were not reliable for you.

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: What was to happen to these "unreliable ones"?

Vojtaššák: We kept watch on them.

President: Which priests chiefly were they?

Vojtaššák: They were priests who had signed the Manifesto of the Catholic Action, and further those who identified themselves with it and finally priests who accepted their salary according to the new Law of Salaries.

President: The Bishops' conference regarded this salary affair as a dangerous action, didn't it?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: You spoke also about Pastoral letters. By means of these you were already following pronouncedly disruptive aims.

Vojtaššák: It was decided to issue circulars, so that the Bishops could influence the priests and the believers by means of leaflets.

Prosecutor: What interest had you, Bishops, in there not being passed a new salary bill? It was important to you to retain your hold on the priests by giving the obedient a better pay and the disobedient a worse one.

President: At what other Bishops' conferences were you present?

Vojtaššák: About in June of last year in Olomouc. I was again invited by Archbishop Beran. There we spoke about the commitments of the so-called Catholic Action on the basis of the Manifesto. The conference resulted in a resolution, that no priest and no believer could accept the Catholic Action as his own.

President: It was decided, that every member of this action would be prosecuted and punished by the Church. And what other resolution did you formulate?

Vojtaššák: That priests have to obey their superior Church authority while they are in the service of the Church.

President: There's more to it than that, that they may not obey any other authority, which is not approved by the Church authority. That means no State authority, doesn't it?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

Prosecutor: That is, you were appealing to the citizens for disobedience to the State and the government.

Vojtaššák: (Does not reply.)

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document I/166 as proof that the accused, Vojtaššák, organised resistance among the believers and the subordinate priests to the regenerated Catholic Action and to our Republic.

President: I state from this document, that the accused, Vojtaššák, in a seven-page letter gives instruction on and an inflammatory interpretation of the Catholic Action, and appeals to the believers to resist it. The whole explanation is marked "confidential". After these inciting appeals, violent meetings and riots took place in the districts of the Spiš diocese, during which fanaticised Hlinkite elements brutally attacked local members of the People's Administration.

Prosecutor: Did the Bishops' conferences discuss also how the clerics should make their promises? How did you decide this?

Vojtaššák: That they should swear an oath of loyalty, but with a reservation, which would be determined by the Bishops' Council.

Prosecutor: You swore an oath of loyalty at the time of fascist Germany and Hitler with a reservation or without reservation?

Vojtaššák: There was no reservation.

President: At that conference you accepted a resolution, regarding books and periodicals.

Vojtaššák: We decided, that books which had not been carefully censored by the Church were not approved by the Church and that the believers should not read them.

President: Which was the last conference in which you took part?

Vojtaššák: In Olomouc. There we discussed the Law of Salaries.

President: What did you decide, to accept the salary law or not to accept?

Vojtaššák: We did not accept this law.

President: There you also decided to maintain contact among the dioceses by means of secret messengers? Did you, too, use these secret messengers?

Vojtaššák: Yes, one theologian and one student.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document 1/37, which reveals, that the accused, Vojtaššák, and the other Bishops used secret messengers in their anti-State, espionage and disruptive communications.

President: I make known this document: I state that it is one of the letters of the accused, Vojtaššák, of 25. 4. 1950, which is marked "strictly confidential and by messenger".

President: Do you remember this letter? Have a look at the addition.

Vojtaššák: (Looks at the document): I do remember it.

Prosecutor: Such letters clearly cannot be delivered by post, I can believe that.

President: Are there any other questions regarding the Bishops' conferences?—(No questions.)

President: I interrupt today's session. The trial will be continued tomorrow morning at eight o'clock.

The Second Day of the Trial

President: I declare open again the interrupted trial of the accused, Bishop Vojtaššák, Suffragan Bishop Th. Dr. Michal Buzalka and Bishop Pavol Gojdič, for the crimes of high treason and espionage. We continue with the hearing of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák. *(To the accused.)* Would you explain in detail how anti-State Pastoral letters and illegal printed matter and circulars were duplicated in your episcopal office and how you organised their illegal distribution throughout the parishes.

Vojtaššák: These illegal Pastoral letters, which I had issued for the clergy and the believers, were duplicated in the episcopal office on a cyclostyle. Office clerks carried out this work. They were responsible, too, for how and to whom these letters were to go.

President: These people, who distributed them, must have been reliable people?

Vojtaššák: Well ...

President: That is, secret couriers.

Vojtaššák: Yes, couriers.

President: And they delivered them only personally?

Vojtaššák: Personally.

Prosecutor: And from what means did you pay these expenses, from your personal or from Church means?

Vojtaššák: The episcopal office had money for such purposes.

Prosecutor: Was it money collected from the believers for religious purposes?

Vojtaššák: Well, it was money collected for this case and for that case, and this money ...

Prosecutor: That is, it was a matter of Church money which was misused for anti-State activity?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: Did you personally draft the circulars appealing for disobedience to the government?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Speak now in more detail about this activity from June, 1949.

Vojtaššák: At that time an excommunication decree was issued by the Congregation of the Holy Office, about which it was necessary to inform the clergy and the believers. So a certain manifesto was distributed. For that reason at that time we issued the Pastoral letters.

President: Did you also issue a circular, in which you threatened the priests and the believers with Church punishments?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I attached to this decree a comprehensive explanation. This was duplicated in the episcopal office and by couriers delivered to the clergy and the believers, but mostly to the clergy.

President: Did you order these Pastoral letters to be pasted on the doors of the churches?

Vojtaššák: Yes, there was such an instruction.

President: Did you think, that these circulars and appeals of yours were serving to appease the people and consolidate the Republic, or to incite and disquieten the people?

Vojtaššák: They certainly did not appease the people.

President: Do you remember a delegation coming to see you?

Vojtaššák: Yes, four people came from Dolný Kubín, requesting an explanation of this Manifesto and the Catholic Action.

President: Didn't they ask about anything else? Weren't they also curious about the relation of the high Church hierarchy to the State and to the People's Democratic regime?

Vojtaššák: They did want to know that.

President: Do you remember, too, where you received them and how you spoke to them?

Vojtaššák: An actuary of the episcopal office showed them into the office, where I just happened to be, but as I was working there, I called them into an adjoining office. There I asked them who exactly they were and what they wanted.

President: Did you speak to them kindly or did you—to put it mildly—throw them out?

Vojtaššák: No.

President: Well you sent them home. And you wrote to the catechist in Dolný Kubín, that he should keep a watch on them on how they would develop their activities. Why were they to be watched?

Vojtaššák: To see what sort of propaganda they were developing among the believers.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document 1/35 which makes it clear that the accused is not speaking the truth.

President: I make known the letter, written by the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, Bishop of Spiš, to the catechetical administrator, J. Marek, in Dolný Kubín. The accused writes in this letter expressly, "Yesterday there was a delegation of four from Dolný Kubín here ... They said, that they had come for an explanation as to how it was with the Manifesto of the Catholic Action, and with the excommunication and why this Church isn't for the government ... I do not know whether they were insulted, but I interrupted further unnecessary, slanderous speeches and reminded them of their departure."

President: Have a look at this letter, whether you wrote it.

Vojtaššák: Yes, I wrote it.

President: From the letter, which confirms the truth, it is clear, that you threw out the delegation. Did you remind others of their departure in this way, for example, the agents of Sidor and Ďurčanský, Verolino, or others?

Vojtaššák: Oh, no.

President: We continue with the hearing. You said already yesterday, that you decided at that Bishops' conference, that you would not respect the orders, measures and laws of our offices. Try to recall a concrete case, when you took such steps.

Vojtaššák: The Regional National Committee had sent an appeal to the episcopal office to make out a budget. As Bishop I did not accept any pay and so I said, that I was not going to make out any budget for the residence.

President: Did you write this to the Regional National Committee?

Vojtaššák: I did not write about this. That was probably done by my office. They only informed me, that an appeal had come

from the Regional National Committee about the preparation of a budget. I said, that I was not going to make out any budget for the episcopal residence.

President: Because you had decided not to accept any pay from the State. It was not said at the Bishops' conference, that budgets would not be made out. Did you do this, so that the other Bishops would follow your example? Did you take any steps in this matter?

Vojtaššák: I wrote a letter to all the ordinaries.

President: To take example from you?

Vojtaššák: Yes, that we should take a united standpoint, that the other episcopal offices should act similarly.

President: That they, too, should ignore the laws of the State.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document 1/32, as a proof, that the accused refused to obey the laws of the State.

President: I state from the submitted document 1/32—which is a photostat of a letter from the accused to Archbishop Matocha in Olomouc, in which he informs him, that he has been asked to submit a budget for the year of 1950. Vojtaššák writes, that he is not going to work out and submit a budget. Evidently the accused does incite others to disobey the laws.

President: Among different anti-State manuscripts, found in your residence, there was also a manuscript of a leaflet, which brutally attacks the Soviet Komsomol.

Vojtaššák: I had read a German article in which was an article about the Komsomol, which I translated.

President: Was it a Nazi pamphlet?

Vojtaššák: Certainly, at that time there was no other German literature.

President: Sure? At what time did you read and translate it?

Vojtaššák: I don't remember any more what year it was.

Prosecutor: I'll help you: it was in 1949.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: In 1949 there was—as you say—only Nazi literature.

Vojtaššák: It came into my hands.

President: You said that you did not read printed matters and suddenly it comes out, that in 1949 you read with pleasure a Nazi pamphlet.

Vojtaššák: I liked the article and translated it into Slovak.

Prosecutor: From this it is evident, that you did not finish with Nazism in 1945, but still in 1949 you were drawing on it.

President: What did you intend to do with this leaflet?

Vojtaššák: I had nothing in mind.

President: Do you know German well?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: So why was it necessary then to translate the article?

Vojtaššák: Well, there were ten points in it which looked like the Ten Commandments.

President: Isn't this typical of you? You know, that the basis of the Christian faith is the Holy Scriptures, but you went so far, that still in 1949 you were using Nazi pamphlets! Have a look, is this draft yours?

Vojtaššák: Yes, it is.

Prosecutor: From your statement it is clear that you were against the Komsomol. Were you against the fascist Black Shirts?

Vojtaššák: I was not against the Black Shirts and I had no reason to be.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Senate of the State Court an article from "Gardista" in which the accused writes thus: "Italy will recall the fascist period of Mussolini with longing, for the disciplined, fascist Black Guard not only saved the Italian nation from Bolshevism, but it strengthened it and established it among the ranks of the feared great powers..."

President: Is this your article?

Vojtaššák: I do not remember writing it.

President: But you signed it here with your full name!

Vojtaššák: The editors must have compiled it under my name.

President: Do you think, that the editors of "Gardista" without the knowledge of the vice-Chairman of the State Council would have dared to publish an article under his name?

Vojtaššák: The editors of "Gardista" did not send me this copy nor did they bring it to my knowledge.

President: I state from the submitted document no. 1/98, which is from the newspaper "Gardista" no. 47, of the annual 1939, that there is here a printed article with the heading "Slovak Hlinka's Guardist", under which is signed as author, "Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, member of the Hlinka Guard". The article contains the sentences quoted by the State Prosecutor.

Prosecutor: Were you ever in Italy?

Vojtaššák: I was.

Prosecutor: You see, in this article you expressly state, that you were in Italy on a pilgrimage and where you were. Could anyone have thought up such details?

Vojtaššák: (Does not reply.)

Prosecutor: I suggest, that the letter be read out, which the accused sent to his subordinate priest, Borženský, in Lubice on 1st October, 1941, because it paints a political profile of the accused. It is document I/86.

President: I make known the submitted letter. The accused, Vojtaššák, in it expressly writes, "The question of National Socialism, christened and mixed with Christ's principles, can only serve our people and the priests working among them."

Prosecutor: So you mixed the Ten Commandments with Nazism. And you know what your fellow-Nazis did in Poland, how they murdered people and priests there?

Vojtaššák: I cannot know everything.

Prosecutor: But everybody in Slovakia knows that, and everywhere else, too. They know, too, that among the tortured in the concentration camps were many priests.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: If you please, a few more words on the question of the financing of your anti-State activity. What property had the Spiš bishopric—say from the year 1920?

Vojtaššák: About 13,000 hectares of arable land, woods, pastures and meadows, a sawmill and agricultural machinery. Of that after the first redistribution about 11,000 hectares remained.

President: And did you later buy further property for the bishopric?

Vojtaššák: I acquired by aryanisation 70 cadastral jutes in Tekovce ...

President: But before, in 1936?

Vojtaššák: In 1936 I acquired a vineyard in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine for the bishopric.

President: Woods, gardens and buildings were also there?

Vojtaššák: Something else belonged to the vineyard, it all came under the name "vineyard".

President: In 1940 it was about 9,500 hectares.

Vojtaššák: In the end after all the compensations and redistributions just over 9,000 hectares.

President: Have you already mentioned, that during the so-called Slovak State you acquired something also by aryanisation?

Vojtaššák: By aryanisation I acquired altogether about 200 cadastral jutes.

President: How did you farm this property?

Vojtaššák: I farmed it with the help of the employees. They were allowed persons, forest workers, game-keepers and foresters.

President: What was your relationship to the employees working on your property?

Vojtaššák: I demanded obedience, subordination and loyalty.

President: And what was the reward for that, that you gave them a few crowns?

Vojtaššák: They received emoluments for their work.

President: Were you of the opinion, that a worker could protest and demand a few crowns' higher wages?

Vojtaššák: When the demands of someone were unreasonable, I told him that if so and so or so and so could make do and be satisfied, why could not he?

President: What yearly income did you draw from the property of the diocese?

Vojtaššák: It was not regular. During the last few years it could have been 3 or 4 millions crowns.

Prosecutor: And how much did the employees have, who asked for higher wages?

Vojtaššák: (Does not reply.)

Prosecutor: Were you of the opinion that a worker on your property could protest and ask for a few crowns' higher wages?

Vojtaššák: He could ask.

Prosecutor: As a proof that the accused is not speaking the truth, I submit document 1/16, which attests to the unsocial relationship the accused had with his employees.

President: I make known document 1/16, submitted by the State Prosecutor. It is a request which a worker, Valent Gaduš, employee of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, sent on 8th September, 1944 to the episcopal office. He writes in it, "I have been in the service of the bishopric since 1913, that is 31 years. Apart from payment in kind, before the first world war I received 30 crowns, after the world war they gave us 50 crowns, from 1921 100 crowns, from 1939 125 crowns and from 1942 they increased it to 200 crowns.

But this monthly sum is utterly insufficient to cover the everyday necessities of life ... When all the everyday necessities are six times dearer, for instance a shirt formerly cost 30 crowns, now as much as 180 crowns, a pair of ladies' shoes 290 crowns ... Today I can't make do, so that I haven't anything even with which to buy the holiday joint ..." Further he requests an increase in his salary. (*To the accused*): How did you answer this request?

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: On that very same day the employee got notice. After 31 years of work, for a beggarly pittance, you threw him out.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

President: Further from the same document, I make known, that the accused, Vojtaššák, informed his employee of the following: "As you are dissatisfied with your pay and you have shown this dissatisfaction, I give you notice from December 31, 1944."

Prosecutor: So this was the "order" you fought for: on the one hand wealth, millions, on the other hand poverty, menials—as you put it—with 200 crowns a month, which hardly buys a shirt.

President: You issued also some regulations to your employees. Do you remember them?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I issued them sometime in 1933. In fact, I only altered older regulations for servants.

President: Do you remember any principles? For instance, whether your employee could possess any property?

Vojtaššák: He could not. He entered into service relation with the whole of his family.

President: That means, that he with his family became absolutely your subjects in every way dependent, as in feudal times.

Prosecutor: I submit the original copy of the Regulations, which the accused issued to the employees of his episcopal property, to be made known.

President: The Court makes known the Regulations, applying to the employees on the property of the Spiš diocese. The Regulations expressly state: "Relations of the employees, who are fit for work, are bound, at the request of the economic management according to need, to come to work for the usual wage ... Each allowed person must have one woman for work (wife, daughter or sister), who is bound according to need to come to work for the master, and finish the work conscientiously ... If there is work on the estate, it is not permitted to go to work for the farmers.

If a woman has a child and has no one to look after it, she must find a guardian and go to work... The Bishop, nominated and installed by the Holy See, is for all employees the supreme and final judge, and, therefore, there is no further legal remedy against his decision."

President: Evidently the Regulations from feudal times were not very much altered.—The rich man was master over life and death, not only of this employee, but also of the whole family and there was no legal remedy.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent.)

Lay Judge: Tell us, how you, personally, participated in the work on the episcopal property.

Vojtaššák: I did not take part in the work. I had other duties.

President: And who disposed of that 3 to 4 million crowns' income?

Vojtaššák: I disposed of it.

Lay Judge: What were the wages of your privileged employees, for instance of the managers?

Vojtaššák: Every one's salary was determined according to his class.

President: Your managers had excessively high salaries.

Vojtaššák: Of course they must have had more.

Lay Judge: When were those service regulations abolished?

Vojtaššák: When the bishopric lost its property, not long ago.

Prosecutor: What was in fact your profession: clerical administration or something different?

Vojtaššák: Clerical administration.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document I/153, which consists of several letters from the year 1921 to 1930 which prove, that both Hlinka and Vojtaššák cared more for dividends and millions, than for clerical administration or the Slovak nation.

President: I make known the documents, submitted by the State Prosecutor. They consist of the correspondence between Hlinka and the accused, Vojtaššák. I state, that these are the original letters. (*Turns to the accused.*) Do you recognise these letters?

Vojtaššák: (Examines the letters.) Yes.

President: In the letter of November 8, 1921, Hlinka writes to Vojtaššák, "Today I negotiated about the schools and your millions.... The millions I saved—I expect 20 % commission."

Prosecutor: Business.

Vojtaššák: These are jokes, Mr. President ...

Prosecutor: To make it clear that these are not jokes, I suggest, that the wording of the whole letter be made known.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, the exact wording of the letter will be read. (*Turning to the accused.*) Have a look once more whether it is Hlinka's letter written in his own handwriting ...

Vojtaššák: (*Examines the letters.*) Yes.

President: Hlinka writes:

Dear Janko,

Excuse my writing in pencil and in the train. Today I negotiated about the schools—and about your millions.

The millions I saved—the official Polcár told me, that we shall get the payments orders without any difficulties. I expect 20 % commission. The case of the Secondary Schools was more difficult. Ružomberok is the easiest because we have a statement from the Town Council. The Secondary School we shall hand over to the Catholic Autonomy but not to the State. Wednesday I shall bring the original contract. Before the end of November the contract must be signed by you and the government—if not, we shall go over to the opposition. And today this is a big thing. Udržal informed us, "The Rumanians didn't move a finger"—The Serbs wanted to mobilise 40,000 men but we shall supply the weapons, ammunition and they the command.

Šrobár said, "France said, Karl is an internal affair of Hungary; Rumania, Italy are against us." The best thing is to rely on one's own strength.—Therefore, either you give it, or not.

If the contract is not signed before the end of November, we shall show our strength.

Šrobár said, that Rome will not nominate new Bishops as long as Bathyanyi and Vlk do not get 100,000 a year from their successors ..

It was rightly decided, that they will get pensions of the fourth class, about 50,000 crowns a year. How will Marian and Karol stand it? They are beggars.

(*Four lines are unreadable.*)

Yesterday I received a cheque for 100,000 crowns from Ame-

rica. I transferred it in favour of Lev. I hope, that Karol, Marian and, you will do the same or otherwise we are ... (*unreadable*).

The rest later on, this in haste.

Yours,

Andrej (signed).

Prague, November 8, 1921.

President: Do you recognise the content of this letter, do you understand it?

Vojtaššák: Some parts of it, yes.

President: It follows from the letter, that at the time, when there was a danger of the restoration of the Hapsburgs, you were threatening: either property or we go over to the opposition.

Prosecutor: And you were blackmailing. On the surface you posed as nationalists and at the same time you were thinking only of millions and commissions.

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

Prosecutor: As it is evident, Hlinka and Vojtaššák made their attitude to the national life of the Slovaks and to the Republic, dependent on the size of the commission, and on the millions left to them against the law.

President: In a letter, which Hlinka sent to Vojtaššák, on October 24, 1922, he wrote, "Now I am writing to you again in connection with the sale of your woods. We want to achieve some support for our party ..."

In a letter of September 12th, 1923, Hlinka complains to Vojtaššák, "I had an extremely painful experience last Sunday in Vikartovce ... They all shouted at me, that I was on the Bishops' side, that the foresters were robbing the people... in the State woods they sell the shaving for 2 crowns. In yours allegedly for 20 crowns. They sold grass to the gentry allegedly for 3 crowns, from the people they ask for 20 crowns ..."

Hlinka justifies himself by saying, that he knows, that these people, who are asking for it are "thieves" and "robbers" but after all it should be possible to do something for them.

Prosecutor: Not only did you pay the lowest wage, but you even overcharged the wood to the poor people.

Vojtaššák: I didn't sell it ...

President: But you were—as you put it already—the supreme administrator of the property.

Vojtaššák: I didn't bother about every detail. That wasn't my affair.

President: In the further letters which Hlinka wrote to Vojtaššák, they spoke of the salvation of the bank—he mentions here 5,400,000 crowns—and a loan without interest of 8,000,000 crowns—further the sale of matches, bricks, woods, etc.

On 19th December, 1927, Hlinka writes, "Thank you for your intervention with his Lordship, the Bishop Kmeťko. As it concerns our large property—1,100,000 crowns of our capital—should we just leave it? Karol wrote me the day before yesterday, that he is going to contribute 250,000 crowns ... I think, that they will release the property, now, as we occupy those seats in the government ..."

On February 23, 1927, Hlinka writes, "Immediately on obtaining the letter, I hurried to Brabenec and Tesár, I got in touch with Müller and Heidrich about the interest on the tithes... The request concerning the 2 millions for Lev, I submitted..."

And so on. Only millions, only business, dividends, only sales and purchases. Not a word about religion, about questions of clerical administration.

Prosecutor: So not clerical administration, as you said, but a dance of the millions?

Vojtaššák: (*Remains silent.*)

President: There are some more letters here from which it follows, that the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party was always directed by the Vatican. Hlinka writes to Vojtaššák on January 6, 1926, "Today I went to see Hodža and conferred with him for some time on political problems ... About the 5th I am going to the Nunciature to report and to ask for directives ..."

Also in the letter of March 18, 1929, Hlinka writes, "The Nuncio takes a wait-and-see attitude ... He will not prohibit priests from taking active part in politics ..."

Prosecutor: It is seen from the letter, that not only now, after the liberation, but also during the First Republic, the Vatican decided on a reactionary, disruptive political activity for the high Church hierarchy in our country.

President: We continue with the hearing of the accused to further deeds, set out in the indictment, concerning the matter of the secret faculties. (*To the accused.*) When were the secret faculties, issued by the Vatican, delivered to you?

Vojtaššák: About April or May of 1950. They were extraordinary faculties which the Holy See issued under the strictest Papal secrecy.

Prosecutor: Why were they issued under the strictest Papal secrecy?

Vojtaššák: (Does not reply.)

President: What does it mean, that these secret full powers are held under the strictest Papal secrecy?

Vojtaššák: That the public should not be informed of them and, that only he, for whom they were intended should be informed of them.

Prosecutor: Is it normal to ordain Bishops publicly or secretly?

Vojtaššák: Publicly.

Prosecutor: And according to these faculties?

President: In what manner was he entrusted according to those, publicly or secretly?

Vojtaššák: The full powers were given to him secretly.

President: In what manner did you receive these faculties?

Vojtaššák: By courier from the Prague Internunciature.

President: That is, by a secret courier from Prague, under the strictest Papal secrecy, illegally. And again you were supposed to use them secretly. What did you do with them?

Vojtaššák: I fulfilled that, which was asked of me. I delegated successors in my place, for when I, myself, should not be able to undertake the work in my office.

Prosecutor: It wasn't a matter of your official duties. Tell us, how many successors did you nominate?

Vojtaššák: Two.

Prosecutor: Wasn't one sufficient?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Can one freely solemnise Mass here? Can the priest christen freely?

Vojtaššák: He can.

President: Can the priest freely solemnise marriage?

Vojtaššák: He can.

President: For what then was it necessary to have illegal Bishops, when those, who are already here, can freely fulfil their religious duties?

Vojtaššák: We counted with arrest...

Prosecutor: But you were not imprisoned because you had

solemnised Mass, christened, confirmed, or because you had performed any other religious acts, but because you had got on to the platform of the anti-State criminal. It concerns a typical illegal, espionage network, established on two lines and, therefore, you named two substitutes. Is that it?

President: From everything it clearly emerges, that it concerns an underground, disruptive and espionage network: they send secretly by courier, faculties are issued under the strictest Papal secrecy and in the same way are dealt with.

Vojtaššák: Yes, it concerned a secret matter.

President: Are both the two using these faculties at once?

Vojtaššák: They are not allowed to, only one after the other.

President: One after the other, when one is revealed as a criminal, the other takes his place.—Are there any more questions? The prosecutor?

Prosecutor: Only as an illustration of the attitude of the accused to the Slovak nation and to the working people, I submit one more document to the Court, no. 4/9, which convicts the accused of recommending a priest to inform the Nazi commander of a partisan group in Slovakia.

President: I make this document known. It concerns a letter from a priest in Maťašovce, who writes on 18th December, 1944, to the accused, Vojtaššák, that the community in which he was working had been occupied by partisans. Further is attached here the reply of the accused, Vojtaššák. (*To the accused.*) Do you recognise your handwriting?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Vojtaššák in his reply writes, "It is heard, that in Roháče they succeeded in liquidating the bandit headquarters. It would be proper if your Reverence would inform by a letter the nearest German security patrol and point out the danger in Maťašovce ... With an expression of love, Vojtaššák."

President: So you incited this priest to inform the German patrol about the partisans, despite the fact, that you knew, that it meant death to the partisans and, eventually, burning down the village.

Vojtaššák (cynically): Maťašovce was not burned down ...

President: That is no credit to you. You knew after all, that sometimes when the Nazis found out about the partisans, as punishment they often afterwards burned down whole villages. They burned down tens and tens of villages in our country like this.

Vojtaššák: (Remains silent).

President: Are there any remarks or questions on the activity of the accused? Have Counsels for the Defence any questions?

Prosecutor: I have a remark only. From what has been yesterday and today revealed about the accused, one thing is clear: all your life has been nothing but betrayal of the interests of the Slovak working people. You did this at the time when you helped in Autumn, 1938 to sell the people to Hitler, and while the fascist so-called Slovak State lasted, when you held a high function in the State Council, you did this even after the liberation, when you attempted the same, the identical, shameful betrayal, serving this time the Western imperialists, who are preparing a new, bloody war. It's worth while for you to think it over.

President: There are no further questions. So the hearing of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, is closed. I interrupt the trial for 15 minutes.

The Hearing of the Accused, ThDr. Michal Buzalka

President: We continue with the hearing of the accused. The accused, Dr. Michal Buzalka, will be heard. Step nearer. At the beginning of the trial I stated, that the indictment was delivered to you within the limits of the legal term necessary for preparation. Is this true?

Buzalka: Yes, it's true.

President: You will be questioned on your personal particulars and then you will relate the deeds of which the indictment finds you guilty. It is my duty to point out to you, that confession is one of the most serious and important mitigating circumstances, to which the Court can refer when evaluating your criminal activity and considering your punishment.

After ascertaining personal data, the President went on with the hearing proper.

President: You began your political activity in 1920.

Buzalka: Yes.

President: You were active as a campaigner for which party?

Buzalka: For the Czechoslovak People's Party.

President: Meanwhile you were the editor of some newspaper?

Buzalka: I was editor of "Slovák", a daily in Bratislava.

President: That was in 1922.

Buzalka: Yes.

President: In 1940 you were appointed by the Vatican to a military post. What was it?

Buzalka: Military Vicar to the so-called Slovak army.

President: In the meantime you were in Rome.

Buzalka: Yes, for the first time in 1938.

President: And after that?

Buzalka: In 1939 in September.

President: You went as courier for Tiso?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: How long had you the function of Military Vicar?

Buzalka: I held this function until the time when the Slovak army was disintegrated.

President: Tell us now in detail something in regard to what the indictment sets out as guilt under participation in the breaking up of the First Republic.

Buzalka: My political activity dates from the year 1920. In 1922 Andrej Hlinka appealed to me in writing to help campaign for the Czechoslovak People's Party. I replied in the affirmative. The districts of Zlaté Moravce and Vráble were allotted to me for campaigning. I readily carried out canvassing in these districts. In 1925 there were parliamentary elections at which Hlinka's Party already stood separately under the name of HSLS, as it was then briefly called. Before these elections I willingly and with initiative campaigned among the believers in the Trnava district and at meetings I called on them to cast their votes for the candidate of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. In 1928 there were elections to the Provincial Assembly of the district representatives and I also took part in this pre-election campaign. I then campaigned among the believers in Brestovany for the programme of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party and encouraged them to vote for its candidates in the local and regional elections.

Prosecutor: Did you stand for the programme of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party? What was this programme about in fact?

Buzalka: In fact the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party fought for the preservation of the old anti-popular order.

Prosecutor: Which one?

Buzalka: The capitalist order.

Prosecutor: With what sort of slogans did it campaign?

Buzalka: With nationalist, chauvinistic slogans.

Prosecutor: At the same time it joined forces with groups inimical to the Slovak people.

Buzalka: Yes. It associated itself with Germans, Henleinites and Esterházyites.

President: Continue.

Buzalka: These activities of mine helped to effect the breaking

up of the Czechoslovak Republic, for I supported the chauvinistic endeavours of the Hlinkites. I did this mostly because the majority of the leading representatives of the party were recruited from the higher Catholic clerical hierarchy which willingly entered the services of the Hlinkites and Dr. Tiso.

President: What in your opinion did the high Church hierarchy anticipate if there were a so-called Slovak State?

Buzalka: According to my knowledge, the high hierarchy anticipated the strengthening of its economic, political position.

Prosecutor: Did you know that the Hlinka Party was moulding itself on Nazi Germany?

Buzalka: Yes, I knew that.

Prosecutor: How did the practice of the Nazis at home in Germany reveal itself? What did you know about it?

Buzalka: Their practice was this: socialistic endeavours were suppressed, Christians were oppressed, Catholic priests imprisoned and there were in existence concentration camps.

Prosecutor: Racism also existed then in Germany!

Buzalka: Yes, I knew.

Prosecutor: Did you know how the Nazis looked on the Slav nations?

Buzalka: I knew, that they regarded them as an inferior race.

Prosecutor: Do you know anything about the Piešťany Congress in 1936? What standpoint did the leadership of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party adopt?

Buzalka: A separatist course.

Prosecutor: Still more, a fascist one. Where did they see their example?

Buzalka: They saw an example in Germany, in Hitler and in Mussolini.

President: You threw in your cards with Nazism. What in your opinion could have awaited the Slav nations from a Nazi victory?

Buzalka: There would have in truth awaited them slowly but surely destruction.

Counsel for the Defence: The accused has said, that until the year 1920 he was not politically active.

Buzalka: I began in that year.

Counsel for the Defence: Did you apply yourself to such activity on the basis of a letter from Andrej Hlinka referring to some sort of friendly relations or were you convinced about their programme,

which you propagated and for which you campaigned and journalistically worked?

Buzalka: On the one hand from the time of Austria-Hungary Hlinka personally was very congenial to me and on the other hand during the Czechoslovak Republic I adopted the programme of his party.

Counsel for the Defence: You endorsed this programme during the First Republic?

Buzalka: Yes.

Counsel for the Defence: And later on during the rise of the so-called Slovak State when it had already committed itself to Nazi Germany and co-operation with the Nazis?

Buzalka: I admit that, yes.

Prosecutor: I still have a question for the accused. The high Church hierarchy supported and was a prop to the Tiso regime which leaned towards Nazi Germany. Was it so?

Buzalka: It was.

Prosecutor: Was this joining in by the hierarchy in the building of the Tiso State, approved by the Vatican?

Buzalka: Yes.

Prosecutor: On whose side did the Vatican take a stand? Did it support Nazi Germany, or was it against it?

Buzalka: It was on the side of the Deutsches Reich.

President: During your visit to Rome did you have an audience with the Pope?

Buzalka: I had an audience with the Holy Father, Pius XII. To his question I described the economic-political situation in Slovakia at the time of the so-called Slovak State, of which I said, that for the high clergy it was very beneficial.

President: For the power position of the high clergy?

Buzalka: Yes. Also to a question of his, I acquainted him with information, that I had gained about the campaign of Nazi Germany against Poland. I also informed him, that some Slovak units had taken part in this campaign.

The Prosecutor submits to the Court documents 2/2, 4/47, 2/3 and 2/4.

President: I hereby make known, that of the documents submitted by the State Prosecutor, number 2/2 concerns the "Katoľické Noviny" of 25th October, 1940, where the accused, Buzalka, as Military Vicar publishes an article: "I believe in one Catholic

universal and Apostolic Church." Among other things in this article he extols Hlinka and the Hlinkites' policy. Document no. 4/47 consists of a copy of the newspaper "Slovák" of 29th April, 1941, annual 41, in which is a report about the visit of the Military Vicar, Th. Dr. Buzalka to Infantry Regiment 1 in Bratislava. From this article and the report published in it, it emerges that the accused used very often to visit the troops, praise fascism and encourage them wholeheartedly to fulfil their duty as soldiers of Tiso's mercenary army. Document no. 2/3 contains a cyclostyled Pastoral letter of the year 1942 and the "Katolícké Noviny" of 19th March of that year, in which the accused misused religion for propagating and commending the fascist programme of the Hlinkite party. From document 2/4, consisting of "Katolícké Noviny" no. 18 of the year 1941, I state, that the accused again visited the Infantry Regiment 1 and in his speech tried to strengthen the fascist education of the troops.

President: (Submits the documents to the accused.) Do you recognise these articles and speeches as your own? What have you to say to all this?

Buzalka: I admit, that I misused the religious feeling of the people in order to rouse them to military activity, primarily on the Eastern Front.

President: Didn't you write to the soldiers, that dying for the fascists and for Nazism was dying for God? Did you write the truth?

Buzalka: No.

Prosecutor: Was it in the interests of the Slovak nation?

Buzalka: I admit, that it was not.

Prosecutor: As former Vicar-general to Tiso's mercenary army do you know how the soldiers behaved on the Eastern Front? Differently from what you had preached to them?

Buzalka: I know, that they deserted to the Soviet forces, that they let themselves be taken prisoner, that they did not fight and that later on they created their own groups and their own corps and fought against Nazi Germany.

Prosecutor: Was this in agreement with or in disagreement with what you had said in all your sermons?

Buzalka: It was in disagreement.

President: Do you know, that whole regiments deserted like this?

Buzalka: I know.

President: How else did you support the Tiso regime?

Buzalka: Besides the quoted articles, I tried to help the Tiso regime by campaigning in public speeches and lectures.

President: Of what kind were they?

Buzalka: They were of the same character as the articles spoken of.

President: Where used you to give these lectures?

Buzalka: Mostly I gave such lectures at military academies in the years 1941—42 and also in the barracks to the various units who were about to leave for the Front.

President: You carried out these endeavours at fascist education in the army ardently and conscientiously?

Buzalka: Yes, I did.

President: Was this activity of yours rewarded in any way, did you receive any decoration?

Buzalka: On March 14, 1944 I received the so-called "Cross of Merit of the Defence of the State", which the Minister of National Defence conferred on me.

President: Is that the military decoration you used to wear on your priest's robe?

Buzalka: That is the one.

Prosecutor: You have said that according to you the attack on the Soviet Union, to which you gave your assistance, was to a certain extent an act of Providence. Tell us, was the liberation of the Republic in 1945 in your opinion also an act of Providence?

Buzalka: (Remains silent.)

Prosecutor: What attitude did you take to this liberation?

Buzalka: An inimical one.

Prosecutor: For what reason?

Buzalka: For material, financial reasons.

President: Besides this activity, by which you tried in every possible way to perfect and strengthen the fascist regime, you were engaged in some other activity, in espionage activity for the Vatican?

Buzalka: Yes, I admit it.

President: Against the Soviet Union. Who won you over for this work?

Buzalka: Dr. Burzio, Chargé d'Affaires for the Vatican in Bratislava, won me over for it.

President: Who was Kellner?

Buzalka: Ján Kellner was a priest, a Jesuit, ordained in Rome.

President: Where did he come from?

Buzalka: He came from Rome.

President: And you then co-operated in your espionage activity with this Jesuit?

Buzalka: Yes, I co-operated with this Jesuit, Ján Kellner.

President: What did Kellner say to you?

Buzalka: We spoke about unification, that is about the complete abolition of the independence of the Orthodox Church, and also of how we could bring this about, namely that they should completely surrender to the Vatican, to the Pope. I became acquainted with Kellner on July 16, 1939 in Mokry Háj at the solemnisation of his first Mass by the priest, Ignác Zelenka, who had also come from Rome. Zelenka had written to me previously from Russicum, that he had been ordained as a priest and that he had permission to solemnise his first Mass at his birth-place.

President: What is this Russicum?

Buzalka: Russicum is a Papal college for training priests in Eastern religious rites.

President: That is the outer form. And what in reality is Russicum?

Buzalka: Russicum in fact is a college for training priests as Vatican agents.

President: Spies?

Buzalka: Yes, spies.

President: Continue.

Buzalka: Towards the end of Summer, 1940, Ján Kellner visited me and straightaway told me, that he had been sent directly from the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, to Slovakia and that he had to wait for further orders.

Prosecutor: Where had Ledóchowski his office?

Buzalka: In Rome, in the residence of the General of the Jesuits.

President: Please continue.

Buzalka: During further conversations Kellner imparted to me, that Vatican circles, with the Holy Father at their head, were very much interested in the East and in Soviet Russia and that the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, was arranging to have priests of his order sent there where they would work for unification and collect espionage reports of a political and economic nature.

President: Did you receive some kind of letter afterwards?

Buzalka: In 1940 I received a letter from Ján Kellner, it was in December, where he informed me, that he was staying in a Jesuit monastery in Ružomberok.

President: What did you understand by that?

Buzalka: From that I understood that the order from General Ledóchowski had been delayed and with it his journey across the Soviet frontier and that, therefore, he was hiding in a Jesuit monastery.

President: What did Kellner tell you about the motivation for his activity?

Buzalka: The motivation of his activity he said was the interest of Vatican circles and that the whole thing was being directed by the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski.

President: Was any particular commission assigned to him?

Buzalka: He was entrusted with the task of crossing the Soviet border if possible the Soviet-Slovak border.

President: In what manner?

Buzalka: Illegally, in disguise either of a farmer or wood-cutter.

President: Who gave him this order?

Buzalka: The General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, assigned this commission to him.

President: What kind of reports had he to gain?

Buzalka: Kellner told me, that his task was to gain espionage reports about political and economic life and reports relating to the Church.

President: What else did Kellner assign to you, and why in particular to you?

Buzalka: He was convinced of my reliability and he knew, that I had the desire and the will to support this activity.

President: What further did Kellner tell you?

Buzalka: That there in the Vatican he had gathered, that further Jesuits would be crossing the Soviet frontier illegally and disguised in this way.

President: What's Ledóchowski's nationality?

Buzalka: Ledóchowski is from a noble family of Polish counts.

President: He had his seat in Rome?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: And from there he directed his whole espionage agenda?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: From whom was the order about disguising and the journey to come?

Buzalka: This order also was to come directly from General Ledóchowski.

President: In what manner?

Buzalka: By courier to the Berlin Nunciature and from there to the Provincial of the Jesuits in Prague, whose personal messenger was to deliver it to Kellner.

President: Continue—with your statement about Kellner.

Buzalka: Kellner told me that the affair was prepared, so that others also would cross over the Soviet border illegally and if one did not succeed in fulfilling this commission, then a second or a third would. Further he said to me, that this commission had already been assigned to others and he imparted to me the names of Father Novikov and Father Moskva. Whether anyone else was to go with them depended on the orders which had to come from Rome from General Ledóchowski.

President: Did Kellner tell you where they were to cross over and what were to be their movements there?

Buzalka: Kellner had instructions to cross over the border into the western Ukraine and there according to possibilities in the guise of a civilian employee to travel from town to town.

President: Under his own name?

Buzalka: No, under the name of Relovský.

President: A false name, then.

Buzalka: A false name, under which he was to procure documents.

President: To whom did that occur? Did you think that up?

Buzalka: I gave him this name, for we had decided, that the German-sounding name of Kellner was dangerous and, therefore, I recommended the name of Relovský.

President: Did he tell you how they had to procure these false documents?

Buzalka: They had to procure the false documents with the help of Jesuit monasteries and Greek Catholic priests in the western Ukraine.

President: On whom else did Kellner rely?

Buzalka: Most of all he relied on the provincials of the Jesuits in that region.

President: You said, that another person who was to cross over the frontier was some Novikov. Who was this Novikov?

Buzalka: Novikov also was a Jesuit coming from an emigré family.

President: Did he also graduate from Russicum?

Buzalka: Yes.

Prosecutor: You said, that these agents crossed over into the Soviet Union in disguise in the year 1940. A year before the predatory attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler. Is there any connection here? The Vatican, after all, did not directly wage war on the Soviet Union?

Buzalka: No.

Prosecutor: Well, so for whom were these reports of an economic-political nature? The Vatican in 1933 concluded a concordat with Nazi Germany. Is there any connection here?

Buzalka: One could presume some connection.

Prosecutor: And that is?

Buzalka: That another, also, would derive benefit from this information.

Prosecutor: What other?

Buzalka: Nazi Germany.

President: Apart from Novikov, of whom else did Kellner speak?

Buzalka: Also of Father Moskva, who came to me. Kellner knew him very well, as they had studied together at Russicum.

President: Then another graduate of Russicum.

Buzalka: Yes.

President: Did you find out later anything else about Moskva?

Buzalka: Yes, I afterwards heard about Moskva in the monastery of the Jesuits in Bratislava from an inmate of the monastery, Father Dieška, that from the time, that he had crossed over the frontier there had been no news of him.

President: How did it come about, that you became closely acquainted with the Internuncio, Burzio?

Buzalka: I became acquainted with Burzio in June, 1940 after his arrival in Bratislava. Then he visited me on 15th June, 1941 in my flat in Bratislava.

President: What function did he hold here in Slovakia?

Buzalka: He held the function of Chargé d'Affaires of the Vatican in Slovakia.

President: About what did you speak?

Buzalka: Burzio confided to me, that he had been entrusted with the very important task of obtaining reports on what was then going on in the western Ukraine. He knew of my inimical attitude to the Soviet Union. As Military Vicar I had had the opportunity of sending instructions to the military clerics at the Front and so had been able to help him in the obtaining of reports. He further told me reports were requested by General of the Jesuits, Ledóchow-ski, through the State Secretariat at the Vatican. They concerned the economic-political situation in the western Ukraine and the attitude of the inhabitants towards Rome and the question of the Unification.

President: In a word—on the whole espionage reports, economic, political and like. You said, that a number of persons were sent there, who illegally crossed over the frontier into the Soviet Union. Did Burzio, too, say anything to you about these?

Buzalka: In connection with them he said, that it would be necessary to contact these people.

President: Did you promise him assistance?

Buzalka: Yes, I saw in his words encouragement and a certain appeal.

President: An appeal from whom?

Buzalka: An appeal from Rome, to me to help him.

President: Did Burzio show you any notes?

Buzalka: Yes, when I promised to help him, he showed me the notes which he had and a letter from Rome. I made brief notes from these directions and made up several code-words.

President: You submitted these code-words to Burzio for approval?

Buzalka: I read them through and he approved them. Then I wrote a letter to Lt.-Colonel of the Clerical Administration Andrejkovič who was in the Ukraine.

President: What Church was he?

Buzalka: Greek Catholic, he too was sub-ordinate to the military vicars.

President: This letter which you wrote him, was it an ordinary letter?

Buzalka: I pointed out right at the beginning, that it concerned a matter of strict secrecy like confessional secrecy, and that he should divulge nothing of it. Further on in the letter I indicated to him with what it was concerned and that he should arrange it

as quickly as possible. Finally, I once again urged reticence and advised him to read the letter several times, to memorise its contents and then to burn it.

President: That is, in a clearly espionage manner to read through, memorise and burn.

Buzalka: It had to be done in this way with regard to the Vatican, so that it should not become known, that the Vatican was involved in such things.

President: Did you add anything further to this letter?

Buzalka: I wrote the additional remark, "Christ's kingdom come".

President: On espionage instructions?

Buzalka: To arouse him to more zealous activity.

President: How did Andrejkovič react to this?

Buzalka: Lt.-Colonel of the Clerical Administration Andrejkovič replied to my letter in about twelve days.

President: He replied so quickly from the Eastern Front?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: How did you send it to the Eastern Front?

Buzalka: By the official field post.

President: How were Andrejkovič's espionage reports written?

Buzalka: They were written on one sheet of typing paper with wide spaces. The report was also signed by Poplatek, who attached a personal letter, written in Latin, thanking me for having mediated in this matter.

President: Who was this Poplatek?

Buzalka: Poplatek was a Provincial of the Jesuits in the western Ukraine. At the same time a second letter was attached, from Andrejkovič addressed to the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, in Rome.

President: Continue.

Buzalka: Meanwhile, before the answer to my first letter arrived, Dr. Burzio came to visit me and imparted to me, that a new letter from the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, had come through the medium of the Secretariat in the Vatican. I read the letter through and immediately I construed a report to have handy for Andrejkovič when I received his reply to my first letter. When I received this reply, I sent off immediately my second letter with the message, that he should go on directing these espionage matters.

President: What else did you do with Andrejkovič's letter?

Buzalka: I took it to Burzio in his flat. After reading it he asked me to make a copy of the original espionage report from Poplatek and to translate the whole report into Latin, which I did.

President: The letter was written in Slovak?

Buzalka: Yes, and I translated it into Latin, because the original, the Latin copy and the letter for General Ledóchowski, were to be sent to the Vatican, while the second copy of the report remained in the archives of the Nunciature. This was done, so that if the courier should not deliver the letters, there would remain at least a copy.

President: Did Andrejkovič's reply to your second letter arrive?

Buzalka: The reply came in ten or twelve days'.

President: What did you do with the second report?

Buzalka: I handed it over immediately to Burzio, who was very much satisfied with it, because all his questions had been answered immediately. Later, in about a week, I received a report that everything had been dispatched to the Vatican.

President: What were your further contacts with Burzio?

Buzalka: We contacted each other two or three times a month until 1945, when he left for the Vatican.

President: Has anyone else any question on this matter?

Prosecutor: Didn't it surprise you, that the Vatican was carrying out espionage against the Soviet Union?

Buzalka: I assumed, that it was concerned with Church interests.

President: Are secret economic-political reports, Church or religious matters?

Buzalka: They are not.

Prosecutor: This espionage was carried out by members of the Church, wasn't it?

Buzalka: Yes, it was.

Prosecutor: As proof of this criminal activity of the accused through the medium of the Vatican, I submit document 2/9 and suggest that it be made known.

President: From document 2/9 submitted by the State Prosecutor, I state, that it concerns the directions and instructions of 18th July, 1941 and 4th September, 1941, which the accused, Buzalka, sent to the Eastern Front to Lt.-Colonel of the Clerical Service Andrejkovič, and in which Buzalka charges Andrejkovič

to carry out espionage for the benefit of the Vatican. (*To the accused.*) Are these the instructions?

(*The President submits document no. 2/9 to Buzalka for examination.*)

Buzalka: (After examining.) Yes, these are they.

President: In the letter is written, "Very reverend Lt.-Colonel of the Clerical Service, my dear brother in Christ! I have read your report. I am glad that with God's help all our and your efforts have been crowned with success. Pray God that it will continue so!" Doesn't it seem to you now horrible, that you misused for espionage purposes the name of God?

Buzalka: Now, years after, when I have thought over the matter, it does seem to me horrible. Yes, it is horrible.

President: Here is your second letter. You write in it, "Your letter arrived intact. I thank you very much but I would most prefer to clasp your hand. I am sending the original to R."—By this R did you have in mind Rome, the Vatican?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: I ascertain, that in a further part of the letter the accused appeals to Andrejkovič to gain reports about the priests of the Eastern rites, who had previously crossed over the Soviet frontier in disguise. They were the priests Kellner, Moskva, and Čížek from the Russicum, in Rome. The letter ends with the sentence, "Times are serious, we have to be informed about each other and be organised in time, so that the harvest will find us prepared."

Prosecutor: What did you mean by this harvest?

Buzalka: That was when the Germans were advancing into the Ukraine. I hoped, that after their victory, we should succeed in widening the union with the Vatican to include also the further parts of the Ukraine.

Prosecutor: And in this harvest belonged apparently also the millions of dead victims of the Nazis whom you helped in their mass murdering. Is that so?

Buzalka: Yes, by my encouragement for the war.

Prosecutor: And not by espionage?

Buzalka: That, too.

Prosecutor: How did it reconcile with your conscience as a priest and a Bishop?

Buzalka: I took it as an act of Providence.

Prosecutor: You took mass-murdering as an act of Providence and assisted in it! And on the other hand you accepted the liberation of the Republic inimically. You swore an oath of loyalty to the Republic with a reservation, but you carried out espionage and disruptive activity without reservation.

Buzalka: That is true.

President: Further, I state from the same document, that immediately after Buzalka's orders here are two letters of Andrejkovič, the first of them of August 21, 1941 and the second of October 4, 1941, in which Andrejkovič informs him, that he has fulfilled the espionage order. (*The President submits the letters to the accused.*) Are these the letters?

Buzalka: (Reads.) Yes.

President: We shall continue with the hearing in respect of the further criminal activity of which the indictment finds you guilty. Did you take part in Bishops' conferences which took place during the so-called Slovak State?

Buzalka: Yes, I took part in all of them.

President: Tell us about some of the important ones.

Buzalka: For instance, an important one was the consultation on August 27, 1944 at Banská Bystrica, where, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Dr. Kmetko, the following met: Dr. Pavel Jantausch, Ján Vojtaššák, Dr. Nécsey, Jozef Čársky and myself. At this Bishop's Conference a suggestion of the priest, Dr. Kolakovič, was also submitted.

President: Apart from this suggestion, what else did you discuss there?

Buzalka: Apart from this suggestion, among other things, we discussed the Slovak National Uprising, signs of which already at that time were manifest all over Slovakia.

President: That was the time when that German general was shot with all his suite.

Buzalka: Yes. Every Bishop reported from his diocese what was going on there and what he had found out. Bishop Čársky put the question, how priests should behave when the Red Army came to Slovakia, namely whether they should evacuate or remain in their places. It was decided, that they should remain in their places and wait to see how the situation developed.

President: You said, that you discussed the suggestion of Kolakovič. Who was Kolakovič? Did you meet him?

Buzalka: I knew that Kolakovič was a Croat priest, that he had come to Slovakia and that he was staying in Bratislava. In May, 1944 he visited me and informed me, that he was giving retreats for University students in Bratislava and its neighbourhood.

President: What did he tell you apart from this?

Buzalka: He said that today it was necessary, that the pastoral activity of the clergy should be directed at influencing and preparing the believers for the time when the Red Army would come to Slovakia. In this connection he recommended an intensified activity in the seminaries. Further he informed me, that the Holy See had entrusted him with an important task which he had to fulfil and that he was going to travel to America. He did not tell me what the task was.

Prosecutor: Did Kolakovič tell you anything about where he had to go with this commission?

Buzalka: He said only, that he had an important task from the Vatican and that he was travelling to America.

Prosecutor: Do you know what kind of relation the Vatican has with the American imperialists?

Buzalka: Yes, I do know—positive.

Prosecutor: What does that mean?

Buzalka: That it supports them.

Prosecutor: And what are their intentions? You have certainly listened to broadcasts, ours and foreign.

Buzalka: They intend war.

Prosecutor: And the Vatican, does it hinder or help them?

Buzalka: No, it does not hinder them, and probably helps them.

Prosecutor: Kolakovič was a priest. Was it his real profession, or was his real profession something else?

Buzalka: Yes.

Prosecutor: What?

Buzalka: His real profession was espionage.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document no. 1/162 as proof of what kind of pastoral activity the accused discussed with Kolakovič. This suggestion for pastorals for hard times was found at the accused, Vojtaššák's.

President: I make known document no. 1/162, marked "confidential". It is the suggestion for pastorals for hard times. The suggestion speaks of the coming times when in addition to the official and public clerical administration, a secret clerical admini-

nistration will be created. Priests who join this organisation, must disguise themselves as workers, eventually change their names, as soon as the change over takes place. So selected priests will occupy in disguise their assigned places and they will have back-dated personal documents. Everyone who reads this memorandum is bound by oath to divulge nothing of it.—Is this the content of what Kolakovič said to you?

Buzalka: This is what he indicated to me.

President: Are there any other questions concerning this matter? No. We continue the hearing.—Apart from with Burzio, did you maintain friendly relations with representatives of other powers during the so-called Slovak State?

Buzalka: Yes, with Envoy Ludin.

President: With the German Envoy Ludin?

Buzalka: Once I found his visiting card at home and I was told, that he had been looking for me. I then went to him to return his visit.

President: During your visit did you have a political discussion or a polite conversation?

Buzalka: A political discussion. During the conversation it was mentioned, that Germany was moving her troops to the East.

President: After the liberation, Ludin was sentenced to death. Did you maintain contact with him even then?

Buzalka: In December, 1947 his solicitor called on me and also I received a letter from the Prosecutor's office, informing me, that permission to visit Ludin in prison, had been granted to me. I did so and at the same time, with the permission of the Prosecutor's office, I visited SS General Höffle in prison. He, too, had wished me to come.

President: Did you have contact also with other Nazi organs? Did you have anything to do with the Gestapo?

Buzalka: I did. At the beginning of October, 1944 members of the Gestapo visited me and told me, that they had information, according to which, a certain Mrs. Kepichová, widow of a Bratislava doctor, was hiding in my house at the care-taker's, and they asked me for permission to search the house. I knew, that she was hiding there but I permitted them to search the whole house, during which they found Kepichová. Soon I learned, that they had sent her to a concentration camp, where she perished.

(Commotion in the Court-room.)

President: Silence, please.—Did you have contact with any other German institutions?

Buzalka: About February, 1940 members of the German field gendarmerie visited me. They said, that a German soldier was posing as a priest and even solemnising Mass. I told them, that I knew of such a one who was celebrating Mass at the Church of St. Ursula.

President: You gladly gave them information about a deserter?

Buzalka: It is probable, that he was not a priest.

President: But a deserter who did not want to serve Hitler. Tell us, what was your attitude to the Slovak National Uprising?

Buzalka: I had a negative attitude to the Slovak National Uprising. I realised, that the Uprising was threatening the existence of the Slovak State, the interests of the high clergy and its power positions. In the Slovak National Uprising one already could see the signs of a new revolutionary ideology which had been penetrating to us since the Russian October Revolution. Further it was known to me, that the importance and extent of the Slovak National Uprising could accelerate the advance of the Red Army and could also quicken the birth of the new State in which the position of the high clergy could be uncertain.

President: In what way, for you the high clergy?

Buzalka: For our power position. Expression was also given to this by the conference at Banská Bystrica where the Bishops issued a declaration to the believers, in which they appealed to them to maintain law and order. This declaration was published on September 7, 1944 in the newspaper "Gardista" under the heading, "The message of our Bishops".

Prosecutor: When the nation rose up, you must have seen it already. Who suppressed the Slovak National Uprising?

Buzalka: The Germans.

Prosecutor: Who called in those Germans?

Buzalka: Dr. Tiso.

Prosecutor: On whom did Tiso lean in the first place?

Buzalka: On the high Church hierarchy.

Prosecutor: Did you have in mind the interests of the Slovak nation, when you appealed to the people to preserve peace or did you have in mind your power positions and your properties?

Buzalka: It was meant in the sense that where peace is preserved, properties are not destroyed.

Prosecutor: When the war was on, did it mean suffering for the Slovak people or not?

Buzalka: It meant suffering.

Prosecutor: Do you think, that if the Uprising had succeeded, that this suffering, including loss of life and damage to property, would have been less?

Buzalka: Had it succeeded, the damage would have been smaller.

President: What attitude did you take when the so-called Slovak State collapsed and the Czechoslovak Republic was re-established?

Buzalka: I took an inimical attitude towards the rise of the Czechoslovak People's Democratic State, because I saw in it a mortal danger to our acquired power, economic and political positions.

President: Our positions. Whose?

Buzalka: Of the high clergy. Also the Košice Government Programme, the building up of Socialism, meant the removal of our privileges, which we had achieved and enjoyed in the fascist Slovak State. The programme of the industrialisation of Slovakia clearly put before my eyes a new dangerous factor for the high clergy, in that the people would be still more and more politically conscious and we should lose gradually the confidence of and our authority over the people. No small role was played by the fact, that, as a member of the high clergy, I had the same interests as the Slovak bourgeoisie in the overthrow of the People's Democratic regime and in the restoration of the capitalist system. In all these questions an important role was played by the fact, that I knew, that the Vatican was interested in preserving the power position of the high clergy in Slovakia.

President: We continue the hearing about your activity from the liberation till February, 1948. Describe to us more concretely this activity of yours.

Buzalka: In August, 1945 a Bishops' conference was called at Bratislava where the political situation was assessed. It was resolved, that it was necessary to start immediately influencing and advising the believers against the building of the People's Democratic regime.

President: How had that to be done?

Buzalka: It was to be done with the help of the Catholic press which had been directed accordingly by our appropriate author-

ities. It was also resolved, that this was to be done with the help also of religious ceremonies, missions, societies of the maidens of the Virgin Mary, youth societies and the like.

President: In short, by misusing religion for anti-State activity. What task was assigned to the Central Catholic Office in Bratislava?

Buzalka: The most important task. The Central Catholic Office had to build an extensive organisation for the whole of Slovakia in the sphere of the Catholic press, of the work of the youth societies and so on.

President: All that was to serve against the People's Democratic regime?

Buzalka: I, myself, also engaged in this, in that on my official journeys and pilgrimages, I disclosed to the people, that I had a negative attitude to the People's Democratic regime and indirectly I indicated to the people, that they, too, should behave as I did, that is, negatively. I tried to exploit some of the initial difficulties and weaknesses with which the new regime was faced. I tried to ridicule in hidden allegories and place in a bad light in the eyes of the people, the People's Democratic regime.

Prosecutor: Already on August 22, 1945, you took a decision on the Bishops' conference, that you would develop disruptive, anti-State activity. And that was at the time when our people had other cares. It was necessary to work, to reconstruct what the war had destroyed for us. Is this so?

Buzalka: Yes.

Prosecutor: What kind of function did the Central Catholic Office carry out from 1945?

Buzalka: A disruptive one.

Prosecutor: What was it supposed to be officially?

Buzalka: An organiser of societies, pilgrimages and so on.

President: What was your activity before the elections in 1946?

Buzalka: On the impulse of the high clergy an extensive campaign was started which had the task in the elections of 1946 to stop, or to localise the penetration of progressive ideas among the masses of the believers. It was a further purpose of this campaign to influence the clergy and the believers to cast their votes in the elections of 1946 for the Democratic Party.

President: What did the high Church hierarchy want to achieve by this?

Buzalka: It wanted to achieve a majority for the rightish parties in the Board of Commissioners and also in the central government. This practically would have meant, that the economic-political policy and leadership in Slovakia would have passed into the hands of the rightish parties and thus of the high clergy. In conjunction with the Czech bourgeoisie it would then have been possible to attempt the overthrow of the People's Democratic regime.

President: Go on.

Buzalka: Dr. Ambros Lazík, Vicar-general, and Dr. Jantausch, Apostolic Administrator, were in contact with Prelate Cvinček in Nitra, the then vice-Chairman of the Slovak National Council, representing there the Democratic Party. The representatives of the high clergy, through him established contact with the representatives of the Democratic Party and concluded a secret agreement, according to which the clergy were to influence the believers to cast their votes at the elections for the Democratic Party.

President: Was at that time the political activity of priests in reactionary parties still welcomed?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: Within the frame of this secret agreement some trustees were appointed. What do you know about this?

Buzalka: It is known, that within the frame of the mentioned agreement a board of election trustees was recruited from the ranks of the clergy and believers, mostly old Hlinkites. Members of this board were distributed among all the districts in Slovakia.

President: Who instructed these trustees?

Buzalka: They got instruction from the Democratic Party through Cvinček from the Nitra diocese.

President: What was discussed at the consultation in Trnava in 1947?

Buzalka: At this consultation the Bishops' Council decided on a resolution, which would be sent to the government with the request for clemency for the sentenced Dr. Tiso. I, myself, sent a cable of intervention to the President of the Republic.

President: You were misusing the trial of Tiso. Instead of showing the war criminal Tiso in his true light, you spoke of the persecution of the priests. Is this so?

Buzalka: I, myself, spoke on the subject, that in the countries of the People's Democracies the priests were being persecuted.

I spread distorted reports about the People's Democratic states and about the Soviet Union. In short, I tried to disrupt the People's Democratic regime. The distorted reports dealt with economic and Church life.

President: Why did you want in this way to encourage and support the disruptive policy of the reactionary elements?

Buzalka: I supported it because I thought, that in this way at least for a time, the power-economic, political position of the high clergy in Slovakia would be preserved.

President: And that the restoration of the capitalist system would be achieved?

Buzalka: Yes.

Prosecutor: And all this time you knew, that capitalism meant for the Slovak people the return to the old misery, unemployment and shooting at workers as it was in the First Republic.

Buzalka: Of the people—I admit—I was not thinking.

President: We now come to further activity after February, 1948. Please, tell us about it.

Buzalka: I particularly accelerated my activity against the People's Democratic regime in the year 1949. After the sentencing of Cardinal Mindszenty, I concealed the crime which he had committed against the Hungarian working people and tried to rehabilitate the person of Mindszenty in the eyes of the Catholic believers and convince them, that Mindszenty had been innocently and unjustly sentenced.

President: And did you know that Mindszenty was a known revisionist and an enemy of our nation?

Buzalka: I knew of this.

President: Do you remember a secret Bishops' conference in the period after the February events? When was it?

Buzalka: That conference was on August 14, 1949 in Trnava. Archbishop Matocha of Olomouc was also present at it and led the discussion and among other Bishops were Vojtaššák and Gojdič. At this secret consultation we went through the general political situation, as it appeared to the high clergy. I averred that it was unfavourable for us. In conclusion we resolved that it was necessary even more to activate the clergy, mainly in the villages.

President: To activate them for what kind of activity?

Buzalka: For political. We resolved to appeal to the clergy

in their speeches and sermons in a veiled manner to agitate against the unified agricultural co-operatives, so that the believers would revolt against fulfilling their delivery obligations, and refuse to sign delivery agreements and so on.

President: What did you decide on in connection with the Catholic Action?

Buzalka: We decided, that priests should terrorise the believers from signing it and from joining the Catholic Action. They were to threaten them with Church punishments both in their sermons and in private conversations.

President: What was decided at this consultation with regard to swearing an oath of loyalty to the Republic?

Buzalka: It was decided to swear an oath of loyalty to the Czechoslovak Republic and before signing the oath of loyalty to add a reservation to the wording of the text and in this form they could swear the oath of loyalty.

Prosecutor: Did you swear an oath of loyalty to the Tiso regime with reservations?

Buzalka: No.

Prosecutor: You unreservedly associated yourselves with the Tiso government under the protection of Hitler. But when it came to the building up of our Republic, you had reservations. Is it so?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: How did you let the priests and believers know of your decision?

Buzalka: By issuing Pastoral letters and circulars where we prohibited participation in the Catholic Action.

President: Were these legal or illegal leaflets?

Buzalka: They were all sent out secretly.

President: Was that, which you advised in these circulars, in the interests of the believers or not?

Buzalka: I should express it thus, that it was not exactly in the interests of the believers. It meant more to us. It meant the power position of the high clergy, the regaining of their lost economic-political position.

President: You also had contact with that traitorous emigré group of Ďurčanský's. Through whose medium did you establish this contact?

Buzalka: Through the medium of Karol Rainoch, an official at the Austrian Consulate-General.

President: And how did you materialise your contact?

Buzalka: Through the medium of Anna Bářová, a clerk at the Austrian Consulate-General, I used to receive from Rainoch some printed matters and memoranda, which were published by Ďurčanský's group abroad and I sent also reports in which this group was interested. They were reports of a political and economic nature about the Czechoslovak Republic.

President: Espionage reports?

Buzalka: Espionage reports of a political, economic and Church nature.

Prosecutor: In consideration of the fact that the public examination of the content of these reports would threaten important public interests, I suggest, Mr. President, that the detailed content of these espionage reports be discussed in the secret session of this trial.

President: They will be examined then. We continue. What kind of printed matter did you receive from Ďurčanský?

Buzalka: In 1946 in July Anna Bářová brought me a cyclostyled bulletin in the French language, which was afterwards duplicated, in the English and Spanish languages as well, and was sent to Buenos Aires. The bulletin contained distorted reports about the elections in the Czechoslovak Republic in 1946. It was signed by Ďurčanský and Polakovič.

President: Did you receive any other printed matters from this group?

Buzalka: Yes. Already before the elections Anna Bářová brought me an illegal newspaper, "Slovák", which was duplicated on advertisement paper. This newspaper was also published by the Ďurčanský group abroad. Bářová brought me a memorandum which Ďurčanský before the elections had addressed to the civil and military members of the former so-called Slovak State, who had fled to escape punishment to Bavaria.

Prosecutor: For what did the Austrian Consulate in Bratislava, require your espionage reports of an economic and political nature?

Buzalka: To send them on abroad, primarily to Ďurčanský's group. Some reports went through the Nunciature in Vienna to the Vatican.

Prosecutor: Neither Ďurčanský nor the Vatican can wage a war. These espionage reports were required by others. Or did you think, that they were for the private needs of the Vatican and Ďurčanský?

Buzalka: I knew, that they would be handed over to agents of the Western powers who were speaking about a third world war.

Prosecutor: These reports then were to support the endeavours to let loose a new war, and you assisted in this?

Buzalka: Yes, in this way I did.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document no. 2/13, which is a memorandum and suggest that its content be ascertained.

President: I state, from the document 2/13, submitted by the State Prosecutor, that it concerns a memorandum, issued by Ďurčanský, of whose content the accused has told us. Is it correct (*submitting the document to the accused for examination*)?

Buzalka (after examining): Yes, it is.

President: Did you hand over reports in any other way?

Buzalka: In 1949 Anna Bářová brought me a four-page questionnaire.

President: An espionage questionnaire?

Buzalka: Yes. I confirmed, that the answers on economic affairs were correct but where it concerned Church questions and the Catholic Action, I had to correct the questionnaire.

President: Did you know that it was going abroad?

Buzalka: I had already known for some time where these reports were sent. Bářová, herself, had told me.

President: From whom did you acquire the reports which you sent via Rainoch and Bářová?

Buzalka: In various ways. Sometimes on my official journeys. Some reports were from the director of the Central Catholic Office in Bratislava, Botek. From Bratislava I received reports also from Dean Pozděch, who at that time was vice-Chairman of the Central National Committee. At the end of March, 1949 an employee of the transport Regional Ministry, Dr. Štefan Uhrín, came to see me and brought me reports of a secret content, which he had gained.

President: Of a secret content? Facts, which you must have known, should, in the interest of the defence of the State, have been kept secret.

Buzalka: They had the character of State secrets. I gave these reports also to my ordinary, Dr. Ambros Lazik.

President: What did he need them for and what did he do with them?

Buzalka: He took the reports to the Internunciature in Prague and through it he passed them on to the Vatican. I, myself, also once passed on to an employee of the Internunciature in Prague, Father Zmrzlík, when he was at my flat in 1947, a report about events and the situation in Slovakia.

Prosecutor: Besides espionage reports did you also hand over reports which were strictly untrue?

Buzalka: No.

President: You said yourself, that you handed over distorted reports.

Prosecutor: I submit a review of foreign broadcasts showing what sort of reports are transmitted about our Republic.

President: From the submitted document, I state, that the Vatican Radio announced on November 30, 1950, that "Msgr. Bishop Buzalka and Msgr. Tajovský, Abbot from the Želiv monastery, died in Czechoslovak prisons". The report was quoted by the Paris Radio, with reference to the Vatican Radio on December 10, 1950.

In this report of the Vatican Radio on 30th November, 1950 besides this, they give such untrue information about Slovakia, "There has ceased to exist any kind of religious life over the whole territory of Slovakia, churches have been closed, priests expelled, the believers cannot take part in religious ceremonies..."

Buzalka: That's terrible, all lies.

Prosecutor: Were you aware, that you, too, were handing over to the Vatican similar lying reports?

Buzalka: Excuse me, Mr. Prosecutor, I knew, that they were exaggerated, but...

Lay Judge (to the accused): Are you alive or dead?

Buzalka: As you see me.

Lay Judge: I see that you are healthy. So you see how the Vatican Radio, which spread the report that you are dead, sends out intentionally lying reports to the world.

Buzalka: Terrible.

President: And naturally these reports were taken over by the

radio of the American satellite. It was taken over by the Paris radio.

Prosecutor: I am curious how the Vatican will explain to its listeners and the Western press to its readers, the resurrection of the accused.

President: We continue with the hearing. Had you also contact with Sidor?

Buzalka: My contact with Sidor dates also from the year 1947. At that time, in July, a Catholic high school student named Jaško came to see me. I asked him, when in Rome, to where he was going as a delegate of the Catholic students to a meeting of the Pax Romana, to contact Karol Sidor, who was then in the Vatican. When Jaško returned in July he came to see me and told me, that he had passed on to Sidor everything about the political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia as I had directed him. Sidor sent me the message, that I should go on fighting against the People's Democratic regime.

President: Did you feel secure in your espionage activity and your contact with the emigrés abroad?

Buzalka: I did not feel secure, I supposed that I could be imprisoned.

President: What provisions did you make for such an occurrence?

Buzalka: In case this should happen, I hid some valuables at Imrich Tichý's. These were two gold episcopal rings, a cross, a gold chain, two sets of cuff-links, some dollars, some antique coins. Further I hid a deposit book on which were 700,000 crowns, which were the property of the Bratislava Chapter.

President: What right had you to hide the property of the Bratislava Chapter? Did any danger threaten the Chapter because of your espionage activity?

Buzalka: No, it didn't.

President: Were there any other deposit books there?

Buzalka: Yes, one for 40,000 crowns.

President: What else did you hide?

Buzalka: A radio worth 15,000 crowns, for which I had made out a false receipt.

President: Does it befit your rank as a Bishop to make out false receipts?

Buzalka: It does not.

President: And what else?

Buzalka: I hid a bed-room suite worth 20,000 crowns with the care-taker's wife. I made her out a receipt, that she had brought it.

President: That is another false receipt?

Buzalka: Yes. Further I hid a deposit book to the amount of 15,000 crowns under the name of Michal Dudo and the slogan Pheasant, three carpets worth 30,000 crowns and a deposit book which belonged to the Chapter under the name of the Chapter's Fund for the Poor.

President: All lies, swindling, falsification, that was your activity. Are there any more questions on the activity of the accused? No questions.

This ends the hearing of the accused, Th. Dr. Michal Buzalka.

The Hearing of the Accused, Pavol Gojdič

President: We continue the public trial with the hearing of the accused, Pavol Gojdič. Bring in the accused, Pavol Gojdič. (*The accused, Gojdič, comes in.*) Pavol Gojdič, at the beginning of the trial I stated the fact, that the writ of summons to the trial and the indictment were delivered to you within the limits of the legal term necessary for preparation. Is this true?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: First of all we shall briefly go through your life-story and then you will be questioned about the individual deeds of which the indictment finds you guilty ... You travelled abroad very often, as is seen from your life-story ...

Gojdič: Yes.

President: In 1924 you were in Poland where you took the oath of the Order of the Basilians. In 1927 you were again in Poland at a Bishops' conference. In 1932 you were in the Vatican at the Congregation of the Eastern Church. In 1933 you were again abroad. Where were you?

Gojdič: In Germany and in France.

President: And in the same year you were also in Yugoslavia. Then in 1935 you were again in Rome and still in the same year you were also in Poland in different monasteries. In 1938 you were in Budapest. The same year you again visited the Vatican ... Since then, have you been anywhere?

Gojdič: Nowhere.

President: It is my duty before your hearing begins to point out to you, that one of the most important mitigating circumstances is a full and sincere confession. According to the indictment here

submitted, you carried out active, disruptive and espionage activity against the People's Democratic regime in our Republic. Do you admit this?

Gojdič: Yes, I admit it.

President: What set you along this path?

Gojdič: The conviction, that the People's Democratic regime and the building up of Socialism threatened the interests of the Vatican whom I was loyally serving.

President: What interests, religious or power interests?

Gojdič: Religious-political interests.

President: Look, in the Soviet Union they have already built Socialism and they have not impeded religious life. And here when you were at liberty, did you see that we were putting obstacles in the way of religious life?

Gojdič: No, they were no obstacles.

President: Was it a matter then of the religious or economic-political, power position of the Vatican and the high Church hierarchy?

Gojdič: It was a matter particularly of the power position of the high Church hierarchy and the Vatican being threatened.

President: You were a member of the Order of the Basilians?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: What was the purpose of this Order?

Gojdič: To ensure on the eastern territory of the Ukraine, that the influence of the Vatican would be established also on the eastern territory.

President: What hindered you in that?

Gojdič: The October Revolution and the rise of the Soviet Union impeded our efforts. That is why we welcomed with satisfaction the attack of Hitler's army on the Soviet Union. We hoped, that our ancient aspirations would be fulfilled. But when they were already within our grasp they were thwarted.

President: Did you, yourself, actually help Hitler's army?

Gojdič: As a diocesan Bishop, I issued, during the so-called Slovak State several Pastoral letters together with other Bishops, in which we called on the clergy and the believers to support the existing regime in which Hitler's Germany was interested.

President: Did you have also personal contact with some of the Nazis?

Gojdič: In Prešov I used to meet the representative of the German Consulate, Dr. Kolb, and I also visited Karmasin and Ludin.

President: What was the purpose of these visits?

Gojdič: I asked them then for some things and I made use of this occasion to assure them of my positive attitude to the National Socialist regime.

President: And these readily made use of your services?

Gojdič: Yes, because a short time later, after my visit, I got the request from a German military commander in Prešov to send more priests to the Ukraine. We saw the fulfilment of our age-old endeavours and also of the interests of the Vatican, in that now we should possibly succeed in penetrating to the East.

President: To subjugate the Ukraine to the Vatican, to spread its influence there.

Gojdič: Yes.

President: And what concretely did you undertake?

Gojdič: I appealed to the clergy to volunteer for mission work there.

President: Do you call it mission work? In reality it was the misuse of religion for the political purposes of the Nazis.

Gojdič: Yes, I admit it.

President: What was the result of this action of yours and how did the lower clergy reply to it?

Gojdič: It had no effect, the lower clergy did not want to take part in such distasteful work.

President: But you on the contrary later on very kindly received all the criminals who fled before the advancing Red Army?

Gojdič: There were many such who feared, that they would be punished for their anti-Soviet activity and that is why they came to us.

President: Did you at the same time acquire from them information about the Soviet Union?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Where did you send it?

Gojdič: I sent a comprehensive report to the Internunciature in Bratislava about everything I had heard from the refugees.

President: So, an espionage report. Apart from that, did you inform them also of your own activity?

Gojdič: Yes, also about mine.

President: Did you ask for instructions?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: And then the Red Army came. Did you come to reason and cease your criminal activity?

Gojdič: No.

President: What did you start to do then?

Gojdič: After the liberation in 1945 I tried to find places for these priests who came illegally.

President: What kind of priests? Haven't you in mind Banderites who fled from punishment by the people? Did they come to you individually?

Gojdič: Sometimes individually, sometimes in whole groups. They were members of various fascist organisations who had collaborated with the Germans. They were from various organisations, OUN, UPA.

President: A known organisation of Ukrainian fascist reactionaries, an espionage terrorist organisation. With whom else did you collaborate?

Gojdič: With groups from UPA.

President: With Banderite gangs. They committed murders there and robbed the people. When they began to be hounded in Poland they illegally crossed into Slovakia.

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Their centre was afterwards in your residence, wasn't it?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: And where else?

Gojdič: In the monasteries of eastern Slovakia.

Prosecutor: Do you know what was the political programme with regard to territorial aims of the Ukrainian fascists?

Gojdič: I know, that they propagated a programme of the cession of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and the creation of the "Great Ukraine".

Prosecutor: Of a fascist "Great Ukraine" as Hitler and Rosenberg wanted to create. And do you know, that they wanted to include in it also a part of our territory as far as Poprad?

Gojdič: Yes, even part of our Republic.

President: So they were concerned also with the breaking up of our Republic? You said already, that their centre was in your residence and in monasteries in eastern Slovakia. Apart from these, were there any other centres?

Gojdič: Later on we placed them also in Roman Catholic monasteries in the west, in Bohemia and Moravia, mainly in the border regions.

President: Did you place them anywhere else? And who collaborated with you in this?

Gojdič: Some of them asked to be appointed to parishes and some of them asked to be temporarily placed in the western border region, so that from there they could go to the American zone.

President: Where to?

Gojdič: To Munich, where an interception centre had been prepared for them.

President: Who had prepared this centre there?

Gojdič: I know, that it was the Vatican.

President: And did the Banderites cross our frontier legally or illegally?

Gojdič: They crossed illegally.

President: And in spite of that, you received them and placed them in Greek Catholic parishes?

Gojdič: I placed some of them in parishes in Slovakia; those who went to the border regions and then further west, were looked after by Hučko.

President: And who looked after the monks?

Gojdič: Provincial Sabol, who was at first in Trebišov and later on in Prešov.

President: Did Sabol suggest, that you appoint Hučko as priest in the Greek Catholic parish in Prague? Can you explain why he suggested Hučko in particular?

Gojdič: Because Hučko was a member of the Order of the Basilians, they were good friends and had worked together already in Medzilaborce, where Sabol was head of the monastery and Hučko a priest.

President: What else do you know about Hučko?

Gojdič: Sabol sent him in 1941 into eastern Poland.

President: Legally?

Gojdič: No, illegally. He had to bring from there reports about the political situation.

Prosecutor: That is, espionage reports?

President: Did Hučko tell you what kind of anti-State activity he then developed in Prague?

Gojdič: It was the priest, Hučko's, task to maintain contact with the Internunciature of the Vatican in Prague and with the archiepiscopal consistory, further with the Catholic Charity and with the central governmental authorities in Prague, where, if we needed anything, he negotiated it and arranged it.

President: You equipped him with some forms or something?

Gojdič: I sent him to Prague and I furnished him with my signature and official seal and forms complete with the official seal so that he could use these forms when appointing priests who reported to him.

President: Those who had collaborated with the Nazis?

Gojdič: Yes. He appointed them to parishes in the Czech lands and then on the basis of such an appointment, they were granted permission to stay.

President: So, according to your statement, you had an interception centre at your place. You had a branch in Prague. There was Hučko. He had full powers to appoint anybody to any regional parish. To enable him to do this you gave him blank forms with your signature and your Bishop's seal, so that he could appoint these criminals, to enable them to hide themselves in Czechoslovakia.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document 3/1, to which is attached such a form with the signature of the accused and with the seal of his episcopal office. I suggest, that this document be made known.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, document 3/1 is made known. It is a blank official form of the episcopal office in Prešov, on which is nothing except at the bottom the seal of office and the signature of the accused, Gojdič.

President: (to Gojdič) Did you issue Hučko with such forms? Have a look at this one.

Gojdič: Yes, this is one of those forms.

President: How could you find places on our territory for such people, when you knew, that they were members of fascist Ukrainian and Polish organisations, collaborators with Nazi occupants, anti-State plotters, in other words, enemies of our Republic?

Gojdič: They could not stay without the proper documents. I asked some priests to enter them in the register and to issue them with Birth Certificates on the basis of which they could then obtain permission to stay and even apply for citizenship.

President: So you even ordered your subordinate clergy to falsify the register?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Who of them made issues in this way.

Gojdič: Michal Mašlej of Olšovce, then Popovič of Matejovce and others.

President: You did not receive only clergy, but also laymen. You even had them married. How were these falsified documents procured for them?

Gojdič: I was not informed about every detail. It was Hučko and his assistant who produced them in Prague and in Prešov it was Provincial Sabol who produced these falsified documents en gros.

President: Did Sabol send to Hučko only those who were threatened with the danger of discovery and arrest?

Gojdič: Yes. He sent those to Prague, where Hučko had to look after them and to get them abroad by means of falsified documents.

President: With whom else did Sabol collaborate in these matters?

Gojdič: He collaborated also with the heads of convents, where nuns, who had illegally crossed our frontier, were hiding.

Prosecutor: One deduces from what you have told us here, that you had a small factory for the production of falsified documents for criminals.

Gojdič: In Prague at Hučko's parish and in Prešov at Provincial Sabol's.

Prosecutor: The falsification of the register did not take place in two places only.

Gojdič: In several places.

Prosecutor: In other words you were producing them en gros.

Gojdič: Unfortunately, I don't know the figure, because it was Sabol who produced them.

President: Because it was a lot. On application for State citizenship, the Institute for Czechoslovaks Abroad sent to the applicants questionnaires, in which these persons had to fill in names of those who knew them, the names of their guarantors. The guarantors had to sign the questionnaires and testify, that they personally knew the applicant. Was it so; did they send you such questionnaires?

Gojdič: I saw questionnaires on which I saw my name. They

were referring to me as knowing them. But when I read them through I found only one who was known to me.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court for making known document 3/4 in which are such questionnaires.

President: From the document submitted by the State Prosecutor, I make known that it consists of six pages of the original questionnaires of the Institute for Czechoslovaks Abroad, in Prague. They are completed with false statements and witnesses, testifying to these statements. In the first place is His Excellency, Pavol Gojdič, Bishop of Prešov. Are these the documents? Did you see these?

Gojdič: I did.

President: They convict you in particular, as you have admitted, of assisting in the production of falsified personal documents for those criminals. Can you mention names of members, whom you sent to the Prague Greek Catholic parish?

Gojdič: Yes, Melik, who in 1946 illegally crossed the frontier and stayed in Provincial Sabol's monastery.

President: When you had produced falsified documents for him, he went to Prague?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: He was given a parish in Olomouc.

Gojdič: They discovered, that he had collaborated with the UPA, he could no longer remain here and had to flee abroad by means of falsified documents. Further, Michal Michajlov, in addition, Ivan Kýda, Buranič and another six, whose flight abroad I made possible.

President: Who was Buranič?

Gojdič: Gregor Buranič was a student of theology, who illegally crossed the frontier and reported to me in 1946.

President: Of course, he did not have any certificate stating that he was a student of theology?

Gojdič: I gave him a certificate stating that he was a student of theology, but he did not bring one with him.

President: Were you aware, that you were issuing a certificate to an unknown person, who might have on his conscience many lives and that you were unauthorised to issue him with such a certificate?

Gojdič: At that time I was not aware of this. But by now I know, that I supported a criminal deed.

President: It was not true, that he was a student of theology.

Gojdič: He was not a student of theology. He went to Prague and became Hučko's assistant.

Prosecutor: I suggest that documents 3/2 and 3/3, in which there is this certificate and Gojdič's letter of recommendation and the so-called official testimony about theological studies, be made known.

President: Do you recognise in this your documents and your signatures?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Buranič went to Prague and became Hučko's assistant.

Gojdič: Yes. He was his assistant.

President: At the trial in 1947 Buranič was revealed as a spy.

Gojdič: I admit with regret, that I issued certificates and thus helped in the espionage and criminal activity of the Banderites.

President: Did you issue similar documents to other persons, too?

Gojdič: I issued them also to Ján Németh, about whom I testified that he was reliable for the People's Democratic regime. Later on it was revealed, that he was an enemy of the People's Democratic regime, and that he earlier had been a supporter of Horthy.

Prosecutor: I suggest, that document 3/5, which contains this false statement of the accused about Ján Németh, be made known.

President: Document 3/5 is made known; it is a statement of September 9, 1947. It is the original issued by the accused, Pavol Gojdič, furnished again with the Bishop's seal. In this statement he expressly declares, that he accepts full responsibility for Németh etc. ..., who applied for a passport to the U.S.A. where he would act as missionary and would not undertake any political agitation against Czechoslovakia. Did you give similar certificates to other people, too?

Gojdič: To others, too, but I don't remember them any more.

Prosecutor: What do think, would not the nickname of Bishop the Falsifier fit you?

Gojdič: (Remains silent.)

President: Did you support in any other way, too, the crimes of the Banderites?

Gojdič: When Banderite priests and collaborators came over illegally, I did everything possible to place them in parishes and apart from that I turned to different sources. In particular I turned to the Slovak Bishops to place them in their dioceses.

President: And then when our security organs began to discover them what did you do against this?

Gojdič: I tried to put their criminal activity into a milder light, to minimise it. I strived to present the measures against them as measures against the Greek Catholic Church.

Prosecutor: I submit document 3/16 and I suggest that it be made known.

President: Document 3/16, submitted by the State Prosecutor, is made known. It is a letter from the accused, Gojdič, who writes to the then Commissioner for Home Affairs, Ferjenčík, on September 6, 1946. He mentions, that he has placed priests who illegally crossed our frontiers and asks, that they be enabled to leave for Munich. He writes expressly, "I beg for special understanding and protection for these priests". The Holy See has created for them in Munich a special administration. The accused sent a similar letter also to Dr. Beneš ... Are these the letters?

Gojdič: Yes, I recognise them.

President: You said, that you turned with your slanderous reports also to the International Red Cross. To whom did you turn in this matter?

Gojdič: I turned to Sullivan.

President: Who was he?

Gojdič: An American citizen. Dr. Mária Stuchlíková worked with him. I came to an arrangement with her in this matter and she promised to intervene, so that these people would get to German territory.

President: Did you write to her, that it concerned collaborators with the Banderites?

Gojdič: I wrote indirectly about whom it concerned.

President: And did you stress anything else to Stuchlíková?

Gojdič: That she should by all means available strive for the liberation of the priest, Prišlák, about whom I found out, that he had escaped from a Polish prison and then was hiding in the Libojevce monastery. There I met him in 1947.

President: You knew, that he had fled from prison and you did not report it to the security organs?

Gojdič: No, I made arrangements for him to cross the frontier, which he afterwards succeeded in doing.

Prosecutor: I submit documents 3/6 and 3/7 about these interventions of the accused.

President: Document 3/6 is made known. It is a letter in which the accused, Gojdič, requests Dr. Stuchlíková for intervention in favour of Banderite priests. He writes her about intervention in favour of Prišlák. Is this the letter?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Document no. 3/7 is a letter from the accused, Gojdič, to Archbishop Kmeťko in Nitra of July 27, 1946, from which it transpires, that the accused did not hide only clergy but laymen as well, both from Poland and from the Ukraine ... Is this your letter with your signature in your own handwriting?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Tell us where else you hid collaborators with the Banderites before they succeeded in illegally crossing into the American zone.

Gojdič: Some monks were hidden in the monastery of the Benedictines with Abbot Opasek. I should like to add, that I hid a certain priest, Salka, who came illegally to our territory in 1946, with his sister in the parish of Hrabovčik. He afterwards made out his sister to be his wife. Later on they were issued with a marriage certificate, on the basis of which they obtained also State citizenship. On the grounds of these falsified documents and statements he obtained also a passport and travelled to Belgium.

President: So you hid them and you helped them to procure false documents. Who else was helping the Banderites on our territory?

Gojdič: We were helped also by the Internunciature in Prague, in particular by Msgr. Forni, through Hučko, whom I sent to him to submit the case to him.

President: Didn't you send to the Internunciature other matters, too?

Gojdič: When I received those reports and letters from Poland and from the Soviet Union, I sent them to Hučko, to translate them into Latin and to hand them over to the Internunciature.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court to be made known document 3/8. It is a letter from the accused to the priest, Hučko, of May 20, 1946, from which I quote, "Could I trouble you to take the enclosed letters to the Apostolic Nunciature, but do not delay in this matter, because we are in danger". Was the matter pressing because it concerned espionage reports?

Gojdič: Yes, they were espionage reports.

President: Further is written here, "I attach also the report of Vicar Jedlovský of Lemkovsciny, which kindly hand over to the Internunciature". This was an espionage report from Poland?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Is this your original letter?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: From document 3/10 it follows, that the accused sent a report from the dean, Hromiak, that is a report from a courier from Poland to Hučko to Prague to hand over to the Internunciature in Prague and negotiate the case ... Was there anyone else in Prague, besides Hučko and Buranič, whom you have already mentioned, who carried out anti-State activity on your orders?

Gojdič: Also Myskiv.

President: Who was he?

Gojdič: Another Basilian. He produced there en gros those falsified documents.

President: Where is Myskiv now?

Gojdič: I don't know, but I think, that on the basis of false documents, he obtained a passport and travelled to the Vatican.

President: With whom is he working there?

Gojdič: With Kyniach, Head of the Order of the Basilians.

President: And you don't remember Lobodič?

Gojdič: Yes. He was one of our canons, who, too, with the help of false documents, travelled to the Vatican.

President: Could you explain to us what you did when Hučko and Buranič were discovered and arrested?

Gojdič: I took steps to get Hučko released. I intervened in this matter with the Deputy of the Democratic Party, Závacký.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court to be made known documents concerning crimes committed by the Banderites on our territory to make it clear with whom in fact the accused collaborated. It is a file from the trial of Klisz and co., further an official report from the Ministry of Interior and a volume of documents.

(He submits them to the President of the Senate.)

President: From the documents, submitted by the State Prosecutor, which are files from the Regional Court in Košice, files from the State Court in Bratislava against Ivan Klisz and co., together with an official report from the Ministry of Interior, I ascertain,

that according to the results of the criminal proceedings against the Banderite murderers, Ivan Klisz and co., Burlak and associates and against the most important helper of the Banderites, Hučko, it is ascertained, that the civilian network of this international, disruptive organisation, has been supported by the Western imperialists since October and November 1945 and that a UPA gang organised an invasion of the territory of eastern Slovakia. All the UPA gangs, which in the years 1945 to 1947 took part in the invasion of the territory of our Republic, influenced the elections in 1946 in eastern Slovakia, and at the same time committed murders on our territory. In the files against Ivan Klisz and co. it is ascertained that this gang took part in acts of sabotage and terrorised the inhabitants of eastern Slovakia. These gangs were thoroughly armed with light and heavy arms and with a considerable amount of ammunition. On November 23, 1945 one of the armed gangs of the UPA, numbering five hundred members, raided the community of Zboj in the district of Snina, disarmed the frontier guard and plundered the community. On the same day they murdered two people in Novosedlice, because they were labelled as members of the Communist Party of Slovakia. On the very same day they abducted the citizen, Gelb, who has not been heard of since. At the same time they plundered the whole community. On December 5, 1945 a UPA gang of sixty members raided and plundered the community of Zboj again. On December 6, 1945 members of the UPA raided the community of Ulič in the district of Snina and the community of Kolbasov in the same district. In the community of Ulič they then murdered four persons. After this murder the Banderites robbed the local co-operative and stole a large amount of provisions. In Kolbasov the Banderites murdered eleven persons. In 1946 the Banderites again raided districts in eastern Slovakia and before the elections terrorised the inhabitants with threats into voting for the Democratic Party. As it was ascertained in the files from the criminal proceedings against Ivan Klisz and co., the Banderite bandits urged the inhabitants to vote for the Democratic Party. On November 22, 1946 the Banderites again raided Novosedlice. A group of about seventy men plundered the community. The Banderite gangs carried out another terrorist raid on eastern Slovakia in the year 1947, from where in the Summer months they penetrated the territory of the whole of Slovakia and also to Moravia, Silesia and Bohemia. It

was ascertained, that on the hint and sometimes even on the direct written order of the accused, Gojdič, some Greek Catholic parishes in Czechoslovakia became the asylums and conspiratorial centres of these terrorist gangs, agents and spies, coming to Czechoslovakia from Poland and in some cases also from the West. This was ascertained from the files of the case against Hučko.

Further it is ascertained from the files, that in Blatnice, in the district of Turčiansky Martin, in the night hours of June 24, 1947 a gang of Banderite bandits attacked the guard of the National Security Corps, murdered Sergeant Vesteg of the National Security Corps, Ludmila Novosedliaková and her daughter, Emilia, seriously wounded Sergeant Vávra, so that later on he died in hospital. Novosedliak, who was also wounded, had to be treated for a long period. Attached to the files is also a photograph of the murdered in Blatnice.

President: Have a look at it.

Gojdič (examines the photograph).

Prosecutor: Have a good look. There are three dead bodies. This is your deed, too.

Gojdič: (remains silent).

President: From the files of the State Court in Bratislava of the case against Ivan Klisz and co., it is ascertained, that the Banderite murderers Ivan Klisz and co., who were sentenced to death by the State Court, on July 31, 1948 treacherously murdered in the woods near Žilina Sergeant Šlepita, who was there only on leave and was peacefully collecting mushrooms. After murdering him they also robbed him. Here, too, is attached the photograph of the dead body.

President (to Gojdič): Have a look at it.

Prosecutor: What have you to say to it?

Gojdič (looking at the photograph): I observe it.

Prosecutor: Just drily observe it?

Gojdič: With regret!

Prosecutor: With regret—a bit late.

Prosecutor: Tell us further how the Vatican behaved towards the Banderites.

Gojdič: I think the Vatican had a positive attitude towards them.

Prosecutor: You only think so? You admitted, that you maintained contact with them and that they gave you detailed information. Where did they leave for?

Gojdič: They left for Munich, where the Vatican had created its centre of interception.

Prosecutor: So you don't "think", but you know, don't you?

Gojdič: Yes.

Prosecutor: That means, that the Vatican in its relation to the Banderites, maintained the same attitude as you?

Gojdič: Yes.

Prosecutor: Defended and supported murderers. In other words; the blood of those innocently murdered clings to your hands and also to the hands of the Vatican.

President: We continue. Could you explain to us why in the elections of 1946 you so zealously campaigned for the Democratic Party?

Gojdič: We came to an agreement with the representatives of the Democratic Party, Ursíny and Pietor.

President: With Ursíny?

Gojdič: Yes. Ursíny visited me in 1945, submitted to me the programme of the Democratic Party and asked me to support the Democratic Party. Minister Pietor, too, who was Deputy for the Prešov region, visited me two or three times and asked me to support their party. Their programme suited me, so I promised them my support.

President: What were the aims of the leadership of the Democratic Party?

Gojdič: The return to the old conditions. Such as were during the First Republic and the Slovak State.

President: So, the restoration of capitalism?

Gojdič: Well, yes.

President: Otherwise expressed—you thus created against the National Front of the working people, a united front of the reaction with the Banderite murderers. Was it so?

Gojdič: (nods).

President: In what way did you otherwise participate in propaganda in favour of the Democratic Party?

Gojdič: I had several methods. I appealed to the clergy directly in the Church newspaper "Uradné Noviny".

President: So you misused your function as a Bishop?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: The representatives of the Democratic Party promis-

ed you something for it. Can you tell us whether they kept their promises?

Gojdič: They did. At the end of 1946 I received from Minister Pietor a private car and Commissioner Styk transmitted to me 250,000 crowns.

President: Did you leave off your anti-State and anti-popular activity after February?

Gojdič: No, I didn't leave off because I did not have a friendly attitude towards the new government and the National Front.

President: Did you consult anybody about this attitude of yours?

Gojdič: At different Bishop's conferences we discussed how we should behave towards the new State, towards new political problems. These sittings were characterised by an atmosphere of distrust.

President: Distrust? And why? Were you mainly concerned with questions of property?

Gojdič: Well, yes. We were concerned with saving as much as possible of our property.

President: In what form after the liberation was the distrust of the Slovak ordinaries towards the government concretely revealed?

Gojdič: It was revealed in that we prevented and prohibited the clergy from participating in politics in favour of the People's Democratic regime. On the other hand, it is true, that we wanted the lower clergy to support the Democratic Party.

President: You have said already why you supported the Democratic Party. What was your personal attitude on this subject?

Gojdič: At that time after 1945 I appealed to my priests to abstain from any participation in public life and I then repeated several times this appeal.

President: You showed a certain initiative even in this ...

Gojdič: At that time it was said, that priests should not argue politics.

Prosecutor: And what about your collaboration with the Nazis? Then you applied a different principle, didn't you?

Gojdič: (does not reply).

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court to be made known a Pastoral letter of the accused of 1945 in which he prohibited public activity for the reconstruction of the Republic on the part of the clergy.

President: Document 3/12 is made known; it is Gojdič's letter

of April 5, 1945. (*Turning to the accused.*) Is the signature on this letter in your own handwriting? Did you personally issue this prohibition?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: Are there any other questions on this point? (*No questions.*) I interrupt the hearing till tomorrow at eight o'clock in the morning, when we shall continue the hearing of the accused, *Gojdič*.

The Third Day of the Trial

President: I declare open again the interrupted public trial. We continue the hearing of the accused, Pavol Gojdič. (*Turning to the accused.*)

President: Yesterday towards the end you spoke of Bishops' conferences. Tell us now how the character of these conferences changed after February, 1948.

Gojdič: After the February events the character of these conferences did not change very much: on the contrary it became still more pronounced. These conferences took place in an atmosphere of distrust and enmity towards the People's Democratic government and the Republic.

President: Who took part in these conferences apart from the Bishops?

Gojdič: The Internuncios, Dr. Forni and Dr. Ritter, took part in these conferences. We used to meet them also after the conferences and they made speeches in which they appealed to us for devotion and loyalty to the Holy Father and to the Vatican and encouraged us to an intensive, anti-State activity against the People's Democratic regime.

President: So direct opposition was expressed to the regime, to our government ...

Gojdič: It sounded like that. The content of the conferences concerned actual problems.

President: Speak concretely.

Gojdič: At one of the Bishops' conferences we resolved to appeal to the believers not to take part in Sunday brigades and to avoid them. We even discussed calling on the clergy, catechists and be-

lievers to fight against the People's Democratic order. We also took a decision, that priests should not join the Catholic Action or they would be excommunicated.

President: Do you remember the Bishops' conference in Trnava?

Gojdič: Yes, I do remember. That was about ...

President: In August, 1949.

Gojdič: Yes, then. At this conference we discussed the two excommunication decrees. One was against the adherents to the Catholic Action and the second against members of the Communist Party. We decided, that all who voluntarily signed the "Manifesto" of the Catholic Action or were members of the Communist Party would be excommunicated by decree of the Holy See. This decision we then distributed in illegal circulars to all parishes and thus we tried to exert pressure on the believers.

Prosecutor: This second decree was aimed against all who were actively building Socialism. (*Turning to the accused.*) Did the Vatican ever excommunicate industrialists, bankers and land-owners, who were reducing to beggary the ordinary working people?

Gojdič: No, it did not excommunicate them.

Prosecutor: Capitalists, it did not excommunicate, fascists, who had on their consciences tens of millions of dead in the second world war, also not, the Vatican even helped them, but the honest, working people, building a better life for themselves, the Vatican threatened with excommunication. And you, the Bishops, were helping it against our people.

Gojdič: I must admit, that, unfortunately, it was so.

President: What aim did your decision on carrying out the excommunication decree, pursue? The consolidation of our Republic?

Gojdič: That the people should lose confidence in the government and the People's Democratic regime.

Prosecutor: So, disruption. But our people rejected you.

President: What did you decide about the salaries of the priests?

Gojdič: Priests were called on to refuse the new salary from the State.

President: Did the Bishops carry out the decisions of the conferences?

Gojdič: Yes, all of them. We used for this purpose Pastoral circulars, illegal ones. In them I called on the believers to boycott and sabotage the Catholic Action. Pastoral letters I used to receive

either directly from Archbishop Beran in Prague or I wrote them at home in Prešov and then distributed them illegally.

President: How did you get the Pastoral letters from the Archbishop of Prague, Beran?

Gojdič: The Archbishop of Prague, Beran, used to send me the Pastoral letters through couriers, the same as the Bishop of Košice, Čársky. Usually I received 250 copies and I distributed them again through the couriers to the deans and they then distributed them to their priests.

President: What did you, personally, do in the case of the Catholic Action? Did you, too, issue any circular?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: A legal one?

Gojdič: No, an illegal one. I inserted a declaration which everyone had to sign and by this signature withdraw his allegiance to the Catholic Action.

President: Could you explain to us what the Vatican and the high Church hierarchy in Czechoslovakia intended by this declaration and then by the duplicating and distributing of those illegal letters and circulars?

Gojdič: We were counting on thus undermining the unity of the people and of the working morale and thus on making possible the return of the former private capitalist regime, in which the Church would regain its lost power, economic-political positions.

President: How did you maintain contact with Msgr. Verolino?

Gojdič: I exchanged letters with him and I also used to meet him.

President: Apart from at those conferences, did you meet him anywhere else?

Gojdič: He visited me also at Prešov. He had come that time from Vojtaššák, from the Spiš Chapter. He was accompanied by Msgr. Zmrzlík.

President: What was the purpose of his visit?

Gojdič: He appealed to me to have illegal Pastorals read out at all cost. He reproached me, that in my diocese the priests had not read out Pastoral letters as elsewhere, as for instance in the Spiš diocese, where this had been carried out most radically.

President: So at that time he gave you Vojtaššák's diocese as an example?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: What else did he tell you?

Gojdič: Verolino told me, that he believed, that now was a suitable time to carry out this action.

Prosecutor: At that time, when Verolino was in Slovakia, the Hlinkites' underground organised some violent riots. Was this in connection with Verolino's journey?

Gojdič: This was in connection with the issuing of inciting Pastoral letters and with Verolino's journey.

President: Verolino expressly stressed the suitability of the situation then — in June and July?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: And what did you say to that?

Gojdič: I mentioned that our priests were not showing a great inclination to read out those letters.

President: And on your own behalf, what attitude did you express?

Gojdič: I assured him, that I had done everything possible. At the same time I had produced another copy of printed matter of an inciting content and distributed it illegally to the priests.

President: Did Verolino stay with you for a long time?

Gojdič: No, he hurried on to Košice and Rožňava.

President: From that you assumed that he was visiting all the Bishops?

Gojdič: Yes. It was apparent, that he had a personal interest in appealing to the Bishops for a more radical stand against the government.

President: Was it a sort of journey of control and inspection?

Gojdič: Yes.

Prosecutor: I suggest, that the State Court make known files of the State Court in Prague from the trial of Zela and co. and in particular part of a statement signed by the sentenced Boukal.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, it is made known from the files of the State Court in Prague from the trial of Zela and co., in particular part of the statement of the sentenced Boukal, that it is evident, that the high Church hierarchy was negotiating an agreement with the government only outwardly and, that the disruptive actions initiated by the Church hierarchy in our country were part and parcel of a widely-based plot of the international reaction. These criminal actions were organised by a clique of Western imperialist war-mongers, with

the active collaboration of the Vatican and the Tito fascist gangs, as was also proved in the trial of the criminal and spy, Rajk and co. in Budapest as well as in the high treason trials in other People's Democratic states.

President: We proceed to the further part of your hearing. Yesterday you spoke of your espionage reports and your espionage activity. Will you now elucidate in more detail since when and with whom you carried out this espionage activity?

Gojdič: The episcopal ordinariate in Prešov came directly under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Congregation in Rome and to this Congregation I sent information regularly every year. When extraordinary events occurred, I sent special information more frequently. So, for instance, in 1944 I sent them espionage reports about Ukrainian conditions...

President: Tell us more concretely what sort of information.

Gojdič: Espionage reports about conditions in Poland and in the Ukraine, which I received from refugees, who had collaborated with German fascists and now feared punishment. They informed me about everything.

President: So they were espionage reports from our Republic, from Poland and from the Soviet Union?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: What were these reports dealing with?

Gojdič: They were extensive reports about all the conditions there.

President: To whom did you then send these reports?

Gojdič: At first I sent them to Prague to Hučko, because many of them were written in Ukrainian or Russian. He first translated them into Latin and then handed them over to the Internunciature.

President: Did you send them to Hučko directly or did somebody take them to Prague?

Gojdič: Usually Provincial Sabol took them with him when he travelled to Prague.

President: And what about when measures were taken against the Banderites?

Gojdič: At that time I sent to the Internunciature an extensive report about these security measures and begged the Internunciature to intervene in their favour.

President: Did you send any other reports, too?

Gojdič: I remember, that the Apostolic Internunciature asked us in 1948 to send some important data about security measures...

President: You will tell us the details in secret session.

Gojdič: These data I sent to the Internunciature through Provincial Sabol. At that time I received also an illegally smuggled letter about the situation in the sub-Carpathian Ukraine. Political and Church questions were described in it. This letter, too, I sent to the Internunciature through Sabol.

President: And were you personally at the Internunciature at any time?

Gojdič: Yes, several times.

President: Whom did you meet there?

Gojdič: Several dignitaries. Dr. Forni used to be present. I used to inform him, personally, of conditions as passed on to me. In 1947 I met in this way also Sensi and I gave him, too, information and I requested him to help me to enable the Banderites to remain on our territory.

President: You spoke also of Dr. Mária Stuchlíková, who collaborated with a certain American citizen, Sullivan.

Gojdič: Yes. He was an American citizen, who after the liberation acted as leader of the American Catholic Charity in Prague. He came to see me and I asked him for support. I asked him for an American car for my private use. He said that, that was a complicated affair and that he would rather assist me to buy a car. He gave me 10,000 crowns.

President: Did this leader of the American Charity, Sullivan, make the impression on you of being only leader of the Charity or in what did you see the purpose of his visit?

Gojdič: The main purpose of his stay was disruptive activity and espionage, which I found out later on.

President: Did you give him all the reports he asked for?

Gojdič: Yes, I passed on to him everything which he asked for.

President: Did you maintain espionage contact with anyone else?

Gojdič: I used to pass information also to the journalist, Troughton.

President: Do you know who this Troughton was, and whether this was his real name?

Gojdič: I don't know any details, he introduced himself to me as an American journalist. He spoke English. He told me he had come to collect information about our post-war conditions, what damage we had suffered and what was the mood of the population. I gave him the information for which he asked. Then I had similar contact with the American, Robertson, leader of the so-called action CARE.

President: Apart from these espionage reports, did you take part in developing any disruptive, espionage organisation?

Gojdič: I collaborated with Dr. Kolakovič. He came to see me for the first time about 1942. He said, that he was a priest from Yugoslavia, and that he had fled from the Gestapo, and asked me to entrust him with a function with the Greek Catholic students. I entrusted him with one. Later on I found out, that he was entrusted by the Vatican to collect some important, confidential reports and to bring secret instructions.

President: Did he come to see you again later on?

Gojdič: About two or three times—several times—he asked me to point out to him a number of reliable priests, devoted to the Vatican. That was during the Slovak State. I pointed out to him priests and laymen to whom he could turn.

President: Tell us more details about your contact with Kolakovič.

Gojdič: After the liberation he came again to me and said, that he was going to have a secret consultation in Banská Bystrica with his confidants and that someone from our diocese should come there, too. I sent there a priest, who then reported to me, that every member of this conference was given a secret name. Later on I met Kolakovič in Bardejov spa.

President: You mentioned already, that you duplicated and distributed illegal Pastoral letters and circulars, that you had secret couriers, etc. Where did you get the money from for all this?

Gojdič: It was money for Church purposes, money which priests had collected and then I received money from priests in America for the needs of the diocese.

President: And in your opinion, for what purpose was that money collected?

Gojdič: For the repair of bombed buildings.

President: Instead of that, you used it for espionage. Did you receive money also from the Prague Internunciature?

Gojdič: Yes, in the years 1947, 1948 and in 1949 I always received money before Christmas from the Internunciature and in 1949 I received it through a courier. A girl university student came to me and brought me four envelopes for the bishops Vojtaššák, Čársky, Pobožný and myself. She had been given the envelopes containing money by the Jesuits in Charles Square in Prague. The Jesuits got the money from the Internunciature in Prague and in the envelope addressed to me were 220,000 crowns.

President: What did you use this money for?

Gojdič: For the support of the Banderites, who had fled from Poland and for the support of those priests, who were working against the State.

President: Did you receive money from anywhere else?

Gojdič: I also received money from the Catholic Charity in Prague. At that time I requested the Bishops in the Czech lands to make collections for the renewal of our churches, destroyed during the war.

President: How much money did you get in this way?

Gojdič: In 1946 I received in this way about 450,000 crowns.

President: What did you do with the money which remained to you in cash?

Gojdič: When I thought, that I would have to answer for my anti-State activity, I gave this money to individual...

President: Did you give it or did you hide it?

Gojdič: I hid it. Some of it in Prešov, some of it in Košice and in Bratislava.

President: Only money, no other things?

Gojdič: Also some securities. Some deposit books, too.

President: What could be the total value?

Gojdič: About half a million crowns.

President: You say, you counted with the discovery of your anti-State activity? Did you make any other provisions for this event?

Gojdič: I asked the Holy See to allow me secretly to ordain one or two priests as Bishops, so that they could carry out in my place the episcopal function.

President: Why did you want to appoint secret Bishops?

Gojdič: To carry on my activity.

Prosecutor: According to what aspects did you select them?

Gojdič: According to their reliability for such work.

Prosecutor: And their attitude to the Republic?

Gojdič: Their attitude to the Republic was inimical.

Prosecutor: Did not one suffice? Was it necessary to have several? A typical case of building up an illegal network, wasn't it?

Gojdič: Yes.

Prosecutor: I submit to the Court document 3/14 about these secret faculties. I suggest, that their content be made known.

President: On the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, document 3/14 is made known, which consists of secret faculties, issued with an accompanying letter by Msgr. De Liva in Latin. The faculties are issued under the strictest Papal secrecy. What does it mean "under the strictest Papal secrecy"?

Gojdič: That nobody should get to know of it, because it was of an anti-State character.

President: The faculties were issued by the State Secretariat in the Vatican Palace in 1950 and they are signed by Dominic Tardini. Who is Tardini?

Gojdič: A Cardinal.

President: When you became a Bishop, was it also done under the strictest Papal secrecy?

Gojdič: No.

President: And why not?

Gojdič: Because it was done altogether legally.

President: Will you explain, too, why you appointed as many as five illegal Bishops.

Gojdič: Because if one were arrested, the next one could continue in his work.

President: In the anti-State activity?

Gojdič: Well, also in the anti-State activity.

President: Did you take also any other steps?

Gojdič: Yes, I divided the diocese into ten districts and there were secretly appointed priests, who had full powers to act for me.

President: That means that the Prešov diocese after your arrest was to be directed illegally from the underground?

Gojdič: Yes.

President: You counted on the discovery of your anti-State activity?

Gojdič: In 1947, when Hučko was arrested and many facts came to light, I feared, that there would be a search of my house and that is why I went through my archives. I removed everything which I thought would be of great consequence.

President: Where did you put them?

Gojdič: I burned them.

President: What were these things?

Gojdič: Letters from Banderites...

President: From those who illegally crossed our frontier?

Gojdič: Yes. Then I burned all my correspondence with America, further a letter from Cardinal Mindszenty and also a draft of the letter, in which I begged the Holy See to allow me to ordain secret Bishops.

President: Tell us now at what was all this criminal activity of yours, which you have admitted, aimed?

Gojdič: The whole of my activity was aimed at preventing the people from going further along the path to Socialism, by misusing the religious feelings of the people. Finally, I admit, that I saw the fulfilment of my aspirations in a new war against the Soviet Union and against the countries building Socialism, that is also against the Czechoslovak Republic. I expected the overthrow of the People's Democratic regime and the defeat of Socialism and Communism.

President: Have you mentioned everything in your statement, or would you like to say anything more?

Gojdič: Yes, I have frankly related everything I know.

President: The hearing of the accused, Pavol Gojdič, is closed and I interrupt the session for twenty minutes.

The Testimonies of the Witnesses and the Submitting of the Written Material

(After the interval the session continued.)

President: The hearing of the accused is closed. Are there any suggestions, please?

Prosecutor: I would request that a decision be made on my written suggestion concerning demonstration of proofs by testimonies of witnesses, by making known of written material and by presenting of expert judgment.

President: The Court will have a consultation about this suggestion. I interrupt the session.

(After the consultation the President declared the session open again.)

President: After secret consultation I announce the decision to comply with the suggestion of the Prosecutor. The following witnesses will now give evidence about the criminal activity of the individual accused: Jozef Sakalík, Valent Gaduš, Ludovít Obtulovič, Štefan Bača, František Irha, Ján Kempný, Anton Suroviak, Violant Andrejkovič, Štefan Uhrín, Mária Bárová, Dezider Kalina, Boris Turkyňák, Pavol Hučko, and Rehor Buranič. At the same time the respective documents will be made known.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, JOZEF SAKALÍK

President: Bring in the witness, Jozef Sakalík. *(The witness Jozef Sakalík comes in.)*

After warning the witness that he must state the whole truth

and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: Were you employed by the accused, Ján Vojtaššák? What sort of work had you there?

Sakalík: I was a cow-herd.

President: Of how many members did your family consist?

Sakalík: Seven members, children from three to twelve years.

President: How were the working conditions there?

Sakalík: The conditions were extremely hard because I worked with my wife and I had to look after twenty cows.

President: How much did you get for that?

Sakalík: I used to get 10.7 cwt. of grain a year and my wife used to get 1 litre of milk a day. She had to milk ten cows daily.

President: What was your monthly pay in money?

Sakalík: 80 crowns and the conditions were terrible. The Bishop cared less for a worker than he did for an animal. Later on I was given notice.

President: How did it happen that you were given notice?

Sakalík: As cow-herd I had to look after twenty cows and for three weeks I had to carry the straw on my back. Then there were two days' holiday and I asked the steward if I could have the straw transported. He said he had no time. I said, "You have time to transport straw for other people for money, so you can transport straw for me, too."

President: And then you got notice? Did they release you immediately?

Sakalík: Yes.

President: And did you then go to anyone to beg them not to give you notice?

Sakalík: No, I didn't go because I already had notice. Anyway, you couldn't get to them.

President: What! One could not get to see the Bishop?

Sakalík: Some people could. But an ordinary man couldn't get there.

President: Did you look for another job after they had thrown you out?

Sakalík: Yes. I found a job in the mines. In the meantime my wife stayed on in our room, but when I came back home on Saturday, she cried, that all the time they had been trying to get her out

of the room. Then they removed us to a room even pigs wouldn't live in.

President: How many rooms did you have there?

Sakalík: One little one in the old brick-works.

President: And there you lived, a family of seven? And for how long?

Sakalík: Yes, we lived there for four months.

President: Did you ever ask for an increase in your pay from the accused, Vojtaššák?

Sakalík: They told me that the Bishop couldn't pay, that he was poor and that he had nothing to pay it out of.

President: You had also a law-suit with the accused, Vojtaššák, didn't you?

Sakalík: Yes. During the past Slovak State I asked the Court for justice, but the fact is I lost the case. That was when they threw me out and I asked for pay to the end of the year.

President: And what did you get?

Sakalík: Nothing, I lost the case.

President: And how was it with the expenses?

Sakalík: For the expenses they took 12.4 cwt. of potatoes and 9 ctw. of cabbage which I had planted, and they didn't allow me to collect them and they also confiscated thirteen of my copper cow bells, and sold them under the hammer.

President: Can you tell us something about the conditions on the Bishop's estate, if someone fell ill or had an accident, how did they treat him?

Sakalík: I once had a festered finger. I could not milk and, therefore, asked the steward to send someone to help me out. He answered that he wouldn't and that I must do the milking myself. Then I got mad and got up and said, "Mary will strike you down when the Russians come". For that they wanted to send me to Ilava.

President: Vojtaššák, have you anything to say to the testimony of the witness? Is it true what he says?

Vojtaššák: Mr. President, I don't even know this man.

President: Is it impossible for you to have known him, or you just don't remember him?

Vojtaššák: I don't remember him.

President: Does the witness abide by what he said?

Sakalík: Yes, I can testify to it even before the Lord, even before the whole world.

Prosecutor: I suggest that the court is acquainted with a document—the Bailiff's file of the Regional Court in Spišské Podhradie about the proceedings of the Bailiffs against Sakalík.

President: I state from the documents, suggested by the State Prosecutor, from the files of the Regional Court in Spišské Podhradie no. E 623/42, from the case of the Bishopric against Jozef Sakalík, cow-herd in Jablonové, that thirteen copper cow bells were confiscated. The accused, Ján Vojtaššák, Bishop of the Spiš Chapter, represented by the solicitor, Dr. Robert Vašek, on June 16, 1942, because previously the auction had met with no result, applied for a buyer with a free hand. The solicitor sent the application forward in the name of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák.

President: Does anyone want to ask any more questions?... No. Thank you, Mr. Sakalík, you can go... Bring in the next witness, Valent Gaduš.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, VALENT GADUŠ

After warning the witness that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: From when were you employed by the accused, Ján Vojtaššák?

Gaduš: From 1913, as a stoker.

President: Did you hear them talking about the conditions there, whether the workers were satisfied, or whether they complained that they had been wronged?

Gaduš: Everybody complained of injustice, because the pay was low.

President: What pay did you get from the accused, Vojtaššák?

Gaduš: During the first Czechoslovakia I got 100 crowns a month and an allowance.

President: What was the allowance?

Gaduš: 1.1 tons of grain a year, 2 litres of milk a day and I could plant cabbages on 2,362 yards of land.

President: Till when did you receive such pay?

Gaduš: Till 1938. Then they increased it by 50 crowns, so that

I got 150 crowns and later on 200 crowns a month. In 1944 I asked for an increase.

President: Why did you ask for an increase?

Gaduš: Because it was very little. I hadn't anything to wear. Things were very bad, so at first I asked for the increase personally.

President: You were married. Had you children, too?

Gaduš: I certainly had.

President: And you all had to live on these 200 crowns a month?

Gaduš: It was very difficult, because for instance, a shirt then cost between 180 and 200 crowns, a pair of shoes 250 crowns.

President: How did they answer your request?

Gaduš: They said, that they couldn't grant the increase.

President: Did you discuss this matter with the accused, also?

Gaduš: Yes, he said, that he could not increase the pay. He said, that if I didn't like it I could go. Then I asked for the increase in writing and I handed my request to the chief official on the Bishop's estate.

President: What happened then?

Gaduš: They got annoyed with me and they orally told me, "Until January 1 you can stay here, but on January 1 you must move out of here."

President: So they gave you notice?

Gaduš: They did. When I came home from the Post Office I got the notice also in writing.

President: Who signed the notice?

Gaduš: Ján Vojtaššák. And I had to sign it, too, to acknowledge it.

President: Your wife had to work there, too?

Gaduš: She did work there.

President: What was her pay?

Gaduš: Nothing. Sometimes they gave her a piece of meat, because she hadn't any money to buy meat.

President: How many members of your family did you have to support?

Gaduš: A family of five.

President: And did your wife ask for any payment?

Gaduš: She did once. She said she hadn't asked for the payment for herself but for an increase for me. They told her, that if they

granted me an increase, they would have to grant it to the others, too, she said.

Prosecutor: You were employed on the bishopric already at the time of Vojtaššák's predecessor, Alexander Pálffy. He was a Hungarian nobleman. Tell us, when Vojtaššák came there did conditions change for the better?

Gaduš: As far as I could see nothing changed.

President: Vojtaššák, have you anything to say to the testimony of the witness?

Vojtaššák: I have nothing to say.

Prosecutor: One more question. What is your pay now, Mr. Gaduš?

Gaduš: Now I get 4,200 crowns a month.

President: Are there any further questions?... No questions. Thank you, you can go... Bring in the next witness, Ludovít Obtulovič.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, LUDOVÍT OBTULOVIČ

After warning the witness that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You have been sentenced for anti-State activity.

Obtulovič: Yes, under paragraph 2 of Act on the Defence of the Republic, for the preparation of plotting against the Republic.

President: You were in contact with the former dealer in wood, Peter Macko, who on his journeys abroad used to contact Kirschbaum and other traitors.

Obtulovič: Yes. At one of these occasions, when Macko returned from Italy or Switzerland, I don't remember exactly now, he came to me because he knew, that I was the legal representative of Bishop Vojtaššák and asked me to arrange a confidential meeting with Vojtaššák. This Macko told me later on, that he had spoken to Vojtaššák but he didn't tell me what about.

President: But earlier he spoke to you about his contacts with the treacherous emigrés, didn't he?

Obtulovič: Yes.

President: You mentioned already that you were the legal re-

presentative of the accused, Vojtaššák. In what cases did you represent him?

Obtulovič: I represented Bishop Vojtaššák in two cases, namely in his criminal case of collaboration and in one affair of the Spiš Chapter in which he gave me power of attorney.

President: How was it with his activity as a collaborator? Why was he prosecuted?

Obtulovič: I represented him in this criminal case. He was a collaborator of the Tiso-Tuka regime and he held the function of deputy Chairman of the State Council. On the basis of this proceedings were started against him and in July, 1945 he was arrested.

President: And did it come to a trial?

Obtulovič: No, because on the request of Vojtaššák and as his legal representative, I intervened, mainly with Dr Lettrich, the former Chairman of the Democratic Party, who showed great interest in Vojtaššák's not being sentenced. Lettrich, as a politician calculated, that he would win the former Hlinkite, high Church dignitary for the elections in the Spring of 1946.

President: That means, that Vojtaššák misused his position as Bishop for an election campaign in favour of the Democratic Party?

Obtulovič: Yes.

President: So Lettrich counted on Vojtaššák to campaign during the elections for the Democratic Party? And, so, on the grounds of his intervention you succeeded in obtaining the release of Vojtaššák?

Obtulovič: Yes. He assumed that if the Democratic Party won the elections, his case of collaborational activity would be definitely dropped and obliterated.

President: Tell us some more details of this case.

Obtulovič: In the Spring of 1946 I met Canon Cvinček who knew that I was Bishop Vojtaššák's legal representative. When I mentioned that I was just going to Spiš to see Vojtaššák, he asked me to impress on the Bishop, that it was in the interests of the Church hierarchy, that the Democratic Party should win in the elections in Spring, 1946 and that it was also in his personal interests, that the Democratic Party should win because only thus would it be possible to drop definitely the proceedings against him, which were still pending. I had to remind Vojtaššák, to whom

he should be grateful for being released from prison and that if it were not for the Democratic Party, he would have remained in prison and would have been sentenced.

President: And Lettrich also told you something of this sort?

Obtulovič: Yes, he also told me that I should pass on to Vojtaššák, that the dropping of the proceedings for his criminal collaborational activity, would be possible only after the Democratic Party had won the elections. I passed both these messages on to Vojtaššák and Dr. Lettrich later on in the presence of Dr. Hodža said, that Vojtaššák had behaved nicely when he had instructed his priests to support the Democratic Party in the elections.

President: Is that all you had to do with the accused, Vojtaššák?

Obtulovič: I also represented, at the request of Bishop Vojtaššák, the Spiš Chapter in the case of the property which the Spiš Chapter had bought during the occupation of Czechoslovakia, and aryanised, and which after the liberation came under the National Administration. Vojtaššák gave me power of attorney to intervene so that the National Administration be removed and the property be left to the Spiš Chapter.

Prosecutor: Was that power of attorney signed by Bishop Vojtaššák or by the manager of the estate?

Obtulovič: By Bishop Vojtaššák.

President: Are there any questions? Have you anything to say to the testimony of the witness, Vojtaššák?

Vojtaššák: I should like only to say, that it concerned not the residential Chapter, but property in Baldovce and to the question of the Prosecutor I confirm, that I gave power of attorney to my legal representative in this case.

President: Are there any more questions? No. Bring in the witness, Štefan Bača.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, ŠTEFAN BAČA

After warning the witness that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You have been sentenced for anti-State activity.

Bača: Yes, I read anti-State Pastoral letters, excommunication decrees and other anti-State printed matter from my pulpit. Allow

me to remark that I am aware of my guilt, but that I acted under pressure from Bishop Vojtaššák as my superior.

President: What did this pressure from the Bishop consist of?

Bača: Well, the Bishop attached threatening letters to his mail in which he warned that Church punishments, suspension, would be meted out to all who did not obey and did not read out this printed matter.

President: Were such threatening letters dispatched to other priests, too?

Bača: Yes, I know it from the conversations of many other priests.

President: What attitude according to your experience did the accused, Vojtaššák, adopt towards the Catholic Action?

Bača: Certainly an inimical one, which can be deduced from his instructions about the spreading and publishing of the inimical excommunication decrees aimed against the Catholic Action. Their Lordships, the Bishops, concealed from us the aims of the Catholic Action and did not tell us the truth, that the Catholic Action was concerned only with an agreement between Church and State and that it had no connection with dogmatics and Church affairs.

President: How did they proceed against priests who wanted to come to agreement with the State?

Bača: Such priests were persecuted and transferred to less lucrative parishes, on the other hand those priests who obeyed and who were willing to take part in anti-State activity, were promoted and always received some reward.

Prosecutor: Mr. Bača, were there differences among the parishes in the Spiš diocese? In the sense that some were economically profitable—rich parishes and others on the contrary were poor? The Bishop maintained here that in his diocese such differences did not exist.

Bača: That certainly is not true. I, myself, from my own experience know of parishes where there was a big surplus and there were parishes on the other hand where it was impossible to live.

President: Do you know of any priest who was persecuted for his political activity and membership in the Hlinka Guard during the so-called Slovak State?

Bača: No, I don't know of any such case.

President: Did the accused ask you also for any reports on Church political life?

Bača: Yes, I had to report how many members of my parish had signed the Catholic Action.

President: You mentioned, that you used to get anti-State Pastoral letters and circulars. Tell us the character of this printed matter.

Bača: The contents were instigating and agitating against the People's Democratic order.

President: By whom was this printed matter signed?

Bača: The excommunication decrees and the Pastoral letters were signed by all the bishops, the attached threatening letters were signed only by Bishop Vojtaššák.

President: What was written there in case you did not obey?

Bača: There was a sanction, that Church punishments would be meted out to me if I did not obey.

President: Any questions?

Vojtaššák: As far as the testimony of the witness is concerned, I have no remark. I admit that he spoke the truth.

President: Are there any questions? ... No. The hearing of the witness, Bača, is closed. Bring in the next witness, František Irha. (*František Irha comes in.*)

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, FRANTIŠEK IRHA

After warning the witness that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: What is known to you about the anti-State, illegal circulars issued by the accused, Vojtaššák? You also have been sentenced in this connection?

Irha: Yes, because on pressure from Bishop Vojtaššák, I read out and spread Pastoral letters which were of an agitational, anti-State content.

President: Of what did the pressure of the accused consist?

Irha: Bishop Vojtaššák forced me to read out Pastoral letters under pain of excommunication. Even though I did not agree with their contents, I read them out.

President: In the first place you were opposed to reading this letter?

Irha: Yes, I didn't want to read it as I was directed on June 19.

President: You were even given an exact date?

Irha: I refused to read out this letter, so about four days later I was called to the Spiš Chapter, where Bishop Vojtaššák asked me why I had not read out this Pastoral letter in its original version, as directed. Then he ordered me anew to read out the Pastoral letter on the following Sunday, that is on 26th June. If I did not do this I would be excommunicated.

President: How did the accused, Vojtaššák, behave towards you at this time?

Irha: Bishop Vojtaššák behaved towards me quite differently than at other visits, I should say rudely. And over and over again he emphasised that I must read out that Pastoral letter or I would be excommunicated.

President: How did the accused proceed towards priests who wanted to join in the construction of our Republic? And wanted to co-operate with the working people?

Irha: When Bishop Vojtaššák had even the smallest suspicion about any of these priests, he demanded, that they personally or in writing justify themselves.

President: Can you quote any particular example?

Irha: For example myself. I was often accused during my three years' activity in Orava, by my superior priest, and I had, together with my fellow-chaplain, Doranský, often to go to the Bishop to justify myself. For instance because we founded Živena and I, personally, because I founded a Sports' Sokol Club and a branch of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth, because I rehearsed plays in the parish and so on. I have to admit, that during these justifications we sometimes had to deny our duty on the social field, if we wanted to remain priests.

President: Are there any questions on the testimony of the witness?

Counsel for the Defence: Will the accused confirm the testimony.

Vojtaššák: M^r. President, I have nothing to say to the testimony of the witness.

President: Thank you, you may go, Mr. Irha ... I now interrupt the proceedings and we shall continue at 3.30 this afternoon.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, JÁN KEMPŇÝ

President: I again declare today's public trial open. Bring in the witness, Ján Kempný. *(The witness comes in.)*

After warning the witness, that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You were a Deputy for and General Secretary to the Democratic Party. Would you explain how you became Deputy for the Democratic Party?

Kempný: In 1945 Dr. Lettrich called on me to accept candidature to the Provisional National Assembly for the Democratic Party. Dr. Lettrich knew me even before the war when I was an official of the Central Union of Slovak Catholic Students in Bratislava. By giving a number of Catholic Officials a free mandate and functions, the Democratic Party endeavoured to win the votes of former Hlinkites. For instance, Dr. Lettrich won over Canon Cvinček who was well-known as a trusted fellow-worker of Archbishop Kmèťko.

President: How did the leadership of the Democratic Party proceed in order to gain the Bishops' Council's participation in the election fight on the side of the Democratic Party?

Kempný: By various ways. For instance, Dr. Lettrich acted, so that Ján Vojtaššák was released from custody and the criminal proceedings against him as a collaborator were dropped. The high Church hierarchy in 1945 endeavoured from the beginning to found its own party. Just before the elections in 1946 some of us who had been trying to found this party, including Canon Cvinček, Filo, Bugár and myself, as members of the Democratic Party, began to negotiate with the evangelical leadership of the party for a change in conditions in the party, so that it should more comply with the interests of the high Church hierarchy. Some time in March, 1946 it came to an agreement between the Hlinkite wing and the leadership of the Democratic Party, the question of a new party now no longer being actual, as those who had tried for it had now abandoned it. These negotiations came up against no difficulties, for the basic fight of both sides was the same. Both were endeavouring to disrupt the People's Democratic regime and her road to socialism and annex Czechoslovakia to the imperialist powers, to the West, against the Soviet

Union. By this agreement the former Hlinkites, whose party had been dissolved, achieved a legal platform for the conduct of their war on the People's Democratic regime.

President: How was the agreement put in writing and what was its content?

Kempný: The agreement was written secretly and individual clauses indicated what were to be the conditions inside the party. The allotting of the politically economic positions was to be in the ratio of 2:1 in favour of the high Church hierarchy. The clause which most suited the high Church hierarchy was the one about the education of the youth, for the youth was to be educated with a view to setting it against the People's Democratic order. By creating two more general secretaries of the Democratic Party, who were exponents of the so-called Catholic wing, who would look after the interests of the high Church hierarchy, they ensured, that important positions in public life would be filled by persons, of whom they knew beforehand would defend the interests of the Church hierarchy.

President: How was the implementing of the agreement safeguarded?

Kempný: For that there was a so-called Inner Leadership, whose members were in fact the signatories of the agreement.

President: Cvinček, Lettrich, Filo, Böhm, Bugár, Hodža, Ursíni and yourself?

Kempný: Yes.

President: Did you also discuss in the leadership of the Democratic Party the trial or the case of Tiso?

Kempný: Some time in April, 1947 there was an extraordinary meeting of the leadership of the party, which instructed the party members in the government to plead for clemency for Dr. Tiso.

President: Would you tell us how the clergy influenced the believers before the elections?

Kempný: The Bishops' Council recommended the believers to vote for the Democratic Party and the clergy in their turn also recommended them to cast their votes for the Democratic Party.

President: You mentioned, that the high Church hierarchy before the concluding of the agreement had intended to create its own party. How were they preparing for it?

Kempný: I know that during the visit of the Slovak Bishops'

Council to the President, Dr. Beneš, this question was touched on and in principle he had no objection.

President: When was that?

Kempný: At the beginning of 1946.

President: And apart from that?

Kempný: In the meantime they sounded the situation in other parties. I know, that Dr. Bugár and Filo were negotiating with the leadership of the National Socialist Party, with Dr. Krajina, as to the attitude they would take towards the new party. Dr. Krajina for the leadership of the National Socialist Party promised material and financial support for this party, but later on of course it came to the agreement inside the Democratic Party.

Prosecutor: Tell us, what was the attitude of the leadership of the Democratic Party and of the high Church hierarchy to the Land Reform?

Kempný: On the whole they took a negative stand.

President: Any questions?

Counsel for the Defence: Mr. Kempný, did you personally negotiate with the accused, Bishop Vojtaššák, about matters concerning this agreement with the Democratic Party?

Kempný: I informed him of this agreement.

President: Has the accused anything to say to the testimony of the witness, Ján Kempný?

Vojtaššák: I would only add, that only once had I the occasion to meet the witness, Kempný, in my flat in the Spiš chapter, where in fact he informed me about the matter of the agreement between the Democratic Party and the representatives of the Church hierarchy.

President: Any other questions?

Prosecutor: I suggest that the court refer to the documents relating to the matters spoken of here.

President: I make known the documents submitted by the State Prosecutor. Here is document 4/47, a copy of the newspaper, "Čas", of May 23, 1946, where a declaration of the Catholic Bishops' Council and the Central Catholic Office is published. It is the declaration about which the accused has already been questioned. Do you remember it, Mr. Kempný?

Kempný: I remember it.

President: Further, there is document 4/33 and this also is an issue from the Central Catholic Office. It includes prayers for

the elections, a copy of the newspaper, "Čas", a declaration of the Catholic Bishops' Council and also that of the Central Catholic Office of May 23, 1946, addressed to all reverend priests and to all other clergy for their kind attention. The Central Catholic Office points out that the declaration of the Bishops' Council will be printed in the next issue of "Katolícké Noviny", that it is a pre-election declaration which was publicised, and published in "Čas".

Further, there is document 4/57, that is, a letter of the Central Catholic Office to Dr. Lettrich in which, on the authorisation of the Bishops' Council, it is demanded, that in keeping with the pre-election agreement with the representatives of the Catholic Church, he support the interests of the Church hierarchy.

Further, from the submitted documents no. I/220, about the methods in the pre-election campaign of the Democratic Party, that is an official report about the course of the election in 1946 and the criminal file no. TK 11 1433/46 of the Regional Court in Bratislava, it is stated what sort of campaign the Democratic Party waged, that it used criminal means—with the help of the Church hierarchy, inflammatory sermons in the churches, limiting the freedom of members of the Communist Party of Slovakia, spreading untrue, alarmist reports, and even calling on the Banderites for assistance. So for example, in the community of Šterusy the local priest said in his sermon, "If any of you cannot decide for which party to vote, remain in the church after Mass and I shall advise you." Then he gave the advice, that the believers should vote for the Democratic Party. In the Žilina district a few days before the elections a member of the Democratic Party shot at a member of the Communist Party of Slovakia. In the community of Hnúšťa after a speech by Dr. Lettrich all the partisans were persecuted, among them even a one-handed invalid. In Čemerno a member of the Democratic Party said in his speech, "We are going to win these elections, and if not otherwise, then with the help of the Banderites." That the Democratic Party really called on the Banderites for help, can be seen by the fact that on April 24, 1946 a hundred-member group of Banderites entered the community of Orka, armed with automatics and machine-guns, and the leader of the Banderites then declared to the assembled citizens, that they had come to help the Democratic Party and that they were bringing death to the Bolsheviks. In the

community of Zborov, when the members of the Communist Party of Slovakia were returning from the May manifestation, members of the Democratic Party, armed with rifles, barred the road to them. On the day of the elections in the communities of Brezovica and Slovenské Ďarmoty and elsewhere members of the Communist Party of Slovakia were not admitted to the booths. In Bardějovo before the elections armed members of the Democratic Party occupied the secretariat of the Communist Party of Slovakia and arrested and took away everyone in the building. In connection with the election terror they did not stop at murder. So for instance, according to the files of the Regional Court in Bratislava, in the case against Ján Kollár and co., it emerges that on May 22, in Čáry Ján Kollár went to the house of the Chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Viliam Vajda, and smeared previously prepared lime over his house. When Vajda rushed out of the house, Kollár aimed his military rifle at him and shot him down.

Finally, the Court makes known document 4/58, which consists of reports which the Bishop Škrábik acquired about the course of the elections in his diocese and which he sent to Archbishop Kmeťko. From this it is clear that in every village, first of all they sent out instructions, and then they ascertained statistically how many votes the citizens had cast for individual parties and also how citizens had voted according to their religion.

Such reports of a political nature were acquired and sent in from every village.

Are there any questions or remarks to these documents?

Prosecutor: It follows from that which has been stated here, that terror, murders and gross misuse of religious feeling—these were the means which the former Democratic Party and the Bishops used in the elections of 1946. They did so because they wanted to save their power position and their landed estates.

President: Have the accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, any remarks?

Vojtaššák: If you please, Mr. President, I have no remarks.

Buzalka: If you please, Mr. President, I have nothing to add to what I have already said.

President: And you, Mr. Kempný?

Kempný: No.

President: The hearing of the witness is closed.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, ANTON SUROVIAK

President: We continue with the hearing of the witnesses. Bring in the witness, Anton Suroviak.

After warning the witness, that he must state the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: Are you parish administrator in Čáry?

Suroviak: Yes.

President: Where were you working at the time of the so-called Slovak State?

Suroviak: I was working in Zázrivá, then I was transferred to Zakamenné, from there to Loveč, from Loveč to Kľačiany, then from there to the Trnava diocese.

President: Do you remember what attitude the accused, Vojtaššák, took towards the so-called Slovak State?

Suroviak: He backed the regime then and supported it.

President: What was your attitude to the so-called Slovak State?

Suroviak: At first, as a young priest, I only followed the development of events, but later on when I witnessed the injustices committed on our people, I joined the Slovak National Uprising.

President: Did the accused, Vojtaššák, find out about your active participation in the Slovak National Uprising and, if so, what line did he adopt towards you?

Suroviak: When I was a chaplain there, the local priest took an inimical attitude towards the Uprising and then after the suppression of the Uprising, he personally, went to the accused, Bishop Vojtaššák, and brought back with him the punishment which had been meted out to me.

President: Then after the liberation, did he return to Kľačiany?

Suroviak: He returned but the local believers told him voluntarily to leave.

President: So the believers chased him out? And whom did they demand should be appointed there?

Suroviak: They asked for me.

President: Well and what did your superior do then?

Suroviak: He went to His Excellency and brought me in writing the most severe punishment.

President: Was it suspension of the highest degree?

Suroviak: Yes.

President: And how was it justified?

Suroviak: The justification was, that I had not behaved correctly.

President: During the Uprising?

Suroviak: Yes, during the Uprising.

President: Did the accused, Vojtaššák, later on allow you to carry on with your function?

Suroviak: I turned to my friends from the time of the Uprising and then I got permission to carry on with my priestly duties under the condition, that I leave for another diocese. I went then to Tekovská Nová Ves in the Levice district.

President: And how did you work there?

Suroviak: I worked there in accordance with the State regulations.

President: And what about the accused, Vojtaššák, then?

Suroviak: I was again transferred, back to the Spiš diocese where the suspension was again renewed.

President: What did the accused, Vojtaššák, tell you then?

Suroviak: I begged him—as I was already ruined during the Uprising, the Germans having burned us out, while my parents were already very old people who could hardly stand my position, that I should like to take up my priestly duties again, as I wanted to remain faithful to the Church and to God. Vojtaššák replied, that I should enter government service.

President: And did you enter government service?

Suroviak: Yes, as district cultural inspector in Šala.

President: What happened then?

Suroviak: Then I asked for permission to carry out Divine Service for the Slovaks in Hungarian villages. At first I was allowed to, but then the suspension was renewed again, because as they said, it was impossible to follow my movements and my way of living.

President: It was rather strange conduct on the part of a Bishop. How did the believers and your friends among the priests react to all this?

Suroviak: They were disgusted.

President: Are there any questions? ... No questions. Has the accused any question?

Vojtaššák: I can only say, that to reply to the testimony of

the witness, I should need all the material from the episcopal archives.

President: Did you know, that the witness had taken part in the Uprising?

Vojtaššák: I don't know.

President: Did the priest, Geráth, of Klačiany come to you to complain about the witness after the Uprising?

Vojtaššák: I do remember he came with some complaints.

President: Did the believers in Klačiany ask that Geráth should leave them, because he was a fascist and that the witness, Suroviak, should be appointed there?

Vojtaššák: It's possible.

President: You see, you do not answer directly and truthfully ... You forced your subordinates to adopt the same attitude to the regime as yourself: during the Slovak State towards the fascist government a positive attitude, and now a negative one. Did you influence them, did you force them?

Vojtaššák: I demanded that the priests should be of the same opinions and altogether to have the same ideas as I had.

Prosecutor: And the opinion of the believers did not interest you?

Vojtaššák: (remained silent).

President: Any questions? ... No questions. I am closing the hearing.

President: Bring in the witness, Violant Andrejkovič.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, VIOLANT ANDREJKOVIČ

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: Were you Lt.-Colonel of the Clerical Service during the so-called Slovak State?

Andrejkovič: Yes.

President: The accused, Dr. Michal Buzalka, has admitted here his espionage activity. How were you connected with this activity?

Andrejkovič: Dr. Buzalka entrusted me with espionage tasks probably because at that time I was near Lwov and he chose me to establish contact with the members of the Church there.

President: Why did the accused turn to you in particular?

Andrejkovič: I guess because I was the first of the military clerics to go to the front and then probably Buzalka had received information about me, that I was loyal to the Church hierarchy.

Prosecutor: Does espionage belong also to Church duties?

Andrejkovič: (*embarrassedly*) No. The reports which I had to send concerned conditions in this region during the stay of the Soviet Army, further, questions about the Union and Greek Catholic Churches in this region and some other information.

President: Why then did you have to keep things in such secrecy, why did you write these reports to each other under the secrecy of confession, why did he ask you to burn all the letters? You must have known, that they were espionage reports.

Andrejkovič: Mr. President, when I got this message from Bishop Buzalka, I myself was surprised, that he asked me for such things. It was very unpleasant for me and I was unhappy to get such a task which I had never had to carry out before.

President: And did you carry out these espionage tasks?

Andrejkovič: Yes.

President: Was it evident that it was in the interest of the Vatican?

Andrejkovič: Yes. Bishop Buzalka directly pointed out to me, that these reports were destined for Rome, for the Vatican and that the Vatican could use only reliable, guaranteed reports. That is why there was also written in the letter that I must keep everything that was passed on to me as a confessional secret. Then he wrote to me that I should visit Archbishop Szeptycki and the Provincial Poplatek.

President: Did you assemble any material in the Soviet Union?

Andrejkovič: Yes.

Prosecutor: I suggest that the respective document be submitted for identification.

President: Please, will you look and see if this is Buzalka's letter and your answer to it.

Andrejkovič: Yes, these are the letters and my answer.

President: Tell us more details about how you assembled these reports in the Soviet Union.

Andrejkovič: I went to Lwov and visited Archbishop Szeptycki, then the Roman Catholic Bishop, a Jesuit, whose name I don't remember any more, further the Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Poplatek, and then the Franciscan Guardian. I asked them for

reports and for replies to questions sent to me by Dr. Buzalka, and I mentioned that this information was for the Vatican.

President: We shall deal with the contents of these reports again in the session in camera. Apart from this, did you also collect information about the situation in the neighbourhood of Lwov and about the operations of the Red Army?

Andrejkovič: Yes, I sent a complete report later to Buzalka.

President: Did you get any further espionage tasks from Buzalka?

Andrejkovič: Yes. At the beginning of August I received another letter from him, in which he asked me to ascertain the whereabouts of four Fathers from the Collegium Russicum, Čížek, Novikov, Moskva and Kellner.

President: Did you know whom they trained in Russicum?

Andrejkovič: They probably trained them for political missions. I can imagine what task these four received, as they had to travel illegally to the Soviet Union.

President: As spies?

Andrejkovič: As spies.

President: Any questions? Has the accused anything to say to the testimony of the witness?

Buzalka: The witness spoke the truth.

President: The hearing of the witness is closed... I interrupt the proceedings for a quarter of an hour.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, ŠTEFAN UHRÍN

President: We continue with the hearing of the witnesses. Bring in the witness, Štefan Uhrin. (*The witness comes before the Senate.*)

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: For what criminal activity were you sentenced?

Uhrin: Because, together with Bernard Jaško and Pavel Kalinaj, members of the National Security Corps, I operated an espionage service. Kalinaj, who is a distant relation of mine, introduced me in March, 1949 to Jaško, who was employed at a certain regional Ministry in Bratislava. Jaško then intended to flee

abroad and before that he wanted to send espionage material there, so that he could introduce himself there by some meritable service. They came to me with a request to help them. Jaško then mentioned, that we could turn to Bishop Buzalka, whom he had got to know in the Society of Cyril and Methodius.

President: Did you know that Bishop Buzalka had contact with abroad?

Uhrin: We counted on his having, as a high Church dignitary, some contact abroad, at least with the Vatican.

Prosecutor: And how does it fit together—espionage reports and the Vatican?

Uhrin: To that I could reply only, that the Church authority has contact with the Vatican and that the latter is in some contact with espionage centres. It is known, that the Vatican is connected with the Western Powers.

Prosecutor: For what purposes do the Western Powers need these reports? Only to place them in their archives?

Uhrin: To make use of them against the States from which they were drawn.

Prosecutor: For what occasion?

Uhrin: In the case of a war, a military conflict.

President: And was this contact with Buzalka brought about?

Uhrin: Jaško handed over to me a copy of a teleprint which contained a secret declaration on the matter of a certain consultation. With this I visited Dr. Buzalka in his residence. To make it less obvious, I announced, that I had come in connection with the building of a new church. When Dr. Buzalka received me, after a brief introduction, I told him what I had brought. He read the report and told me, that it was nothing new to him. We then agreed, that when I knew anything else or when I had a new report I should visit him in his flat.

President: And what in particular interested him, oral information?

Uhrin: No, written reports.

President: Did you comply with his request and procure for him further reports?

Uhrin: Yes, I used to hand over the reports personally without the presence of a third person, in the time between April and June, 1949. And then I was discovered and arrested.

President: And what kind of reports were they?

Uhrin: They consisted of secret instructions from a certain regional Ministry.

President: In what way did he pass on the material?

Uhrin: Dr. Buzalka did not entrust me with that. When I gave him the report, he told me only, that he would arrange the necessary. I did not like to ask him anything more, in order not to arouse the suspicion, that I did not trust him. For Jaško the person of Dr. Buzalka was a guarantee, that his material would be dealt with as he wished, that is, it would be put at the disposal of a foreign espionage service.

President: Are there any questions?

Counsel for the Defence Dr. Rampášek: Mr. Uhrin, when you gave the accused your first report, did he ask you for further reports?

Uhrin: He told me, that if I should know or have anything, rather, have—he always spoke in such a polite manner—I should visit him again.

Counsel for the Defence: Did you pass on to him all the reports you gained?

Uhrin: Not all of them.

Counsel for the Defence: Where were the others found?

Uhrin: Some were found in my flat.

President: Has the accused anything to say to the testimony of the witness?

Buzalka: Mr. President, the witness is right when saying, that he came to see me twice and he is also right when saying, that he passed on to me two documents. Then after reading them I burned them. When they searched my flat they said it was a pity I had burned them.

President: Are there any more questions? ... No. Thank you. Before they bring in the next witness we shall make known further documents, submitted by the State Prosecutor.

THE READING OF DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE ACCUSED, VOJTÁŠŠÁK

President: Here are documents 1/59, 1/155, 164 to 168 which are copies of the newspaper, "Slovák", of May 26, 1925, of December 15, 1938, of August 15, 1939 and a booklet published in 1923, "Whether

a True Catholic can be a Social Democrat". In all these articles, about which the accused has already spoken in his hearing, are the thoughts and opinions of the accused expressing his inveterate hatred of all progressive parties and his loyalty to the Hlinkites' movement. Similarly, an article of August 15, 1939 contains a defence of the disruptive policy of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. *(To the accused)* Do you acknowledge that you wrote these articles? Have a look at them.

Vojtaššák: (Looks at the articles and says.) Yes.

President: In the booklet, "Whether a True Catholic can be a Social Democrat", the accused agitates against the Soviet Union. The accused fabricates clumsy and stupid lies as, for example, that girls are forced at the whip end to go to men who have been issued with tickets for free love. Further, I make known document 1/4. In this letter of October 28, 1939 the accused agrees with the request of Hlinka's Youth and Hlinka's Guard and appoints for them clerical advisers. Further, here is document 1/88 in which the accused gives his consent for the Slovak fascist greeting, "On guard", to be used in schools. Further, here is document 1/'17 which is a letter from the German Consul, Siegels. Further, there is the original decree of the Ministry of National Defence, signed by Minister Čatloš, in which he thanks the accused for welcoming Slovak soldiers returning from the Eastern Front. Further, there is document 1/15, a decree about the decoration of the accused, Vojtaššák, with the Grand-Cross of the Order of the Slovak Cross. Then there is document 1/97, which is a letter from the Central State Security to the accused, Vojtaššák, of March 20, 1941, asking for the address of the priest, Anton Sýkora, to which immediately on March 22, 1941, the accused informed the Central State Security of the address of the above mentioned priest and ends the letter with the greeting, "On guard". Further, I refer to document 1/14. It is a letter from the priest, Galan, in which he informs the accused, Vojtaššák, that he has created a disruptive network among the workers in industrial centres. I quote verbatim one sentence from Galan's letter, "Most reverend Bishop, the organisation for classifying the workers has started...", then he describes, that in the factories he already knows all the people with whom it would be possible to start to work and on whom they can rely. He even has leaflets prepared. The accused immediately replied to Galan and among other things he told him, "I re-

ceived two leafets in which you affiliate yourself to the working class. You have started your action well. God's Blessing on it. With an expression of love, etc. ..." Is it your handwriting?

Vojtaššák: I acknowledge it.

President: Further, here is document 1/169. They are letters to the Apostolic Nunciature in Berlin and then a letter from Berlin, where the accused asks for consent to accept the function of Military Vicar, which the Apostolic Nuncio grants. Further, here is document 1/17. It is a letter from the accused to the former Minister of Education and National Culture, concerning the case of priests who proved themselves to be against the Slovak National Uprising. In a further letter to the episcopal ordinariates of March 13, 1947, the accused writes, that the interests of the high Church hierarchy can be defended only by those—I am quoting—"who in 1944 did not know of any "Slovak National Uprising" and what's more not of a spontaneous one, because this is the biggest swindle and deception by which some people wish to justify the biggest shame and misfortune which ever in his history befell a Slovak." Further, here is document 1/17 in which the accused speaks of the partisans as a "robber gang of partisans". Further, here is document 1/175, an exchange of letters between Kršiak, Canon of Levoča, and the accused, Vojtaššák, in which, even after the liberation, Vojtaššák continues to recognise only the fascist government. He, himself, writes about his discussion with Šrobár in this way: "I expressed myself to him about the Slovak government as a legal one, and about the Slovak State as also a legal one." Do you remember this?

Vojtaššák: Yes.

President: Further, there is document 1/25, a letter of 21st February, 1948 from the accused to all ordinaries in which he writes of the Youth Railway as of a cultural scandal. This is a literal quotation from his letter. Further there is document 1/40, a letter of November 7, 1949, from the Papal representative, De Liva. It's evident from the content, that there was a meeting of the Bishops in Trnava, where they made the decision to submit to the State Secretariat in the Vatican the question whether it were possible in the case of the Catholic Action to apply canon 2, 314. That means that their Lordships, the Bishops, on their own initiative were demanding whether, apart from the excommunication decrees, it would be possible to apply against the Catholic

Action an even more severe canon. Further, there are documents 1/206, 1/39 and 1/38, being different circulars and Pastoral letters directing, that they be read out in the churches. These circulars and letters are of an inflammatory content aimed against the People's Democratic order and against the government.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, ANNA MÁRIA BÄROVÁ

President: Bring in the witness, Mária Bárová.

After warning the witness, that she must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained her personal data, the President went on with the hearing of the witness, Anna Mária Bárová, former employee of the Austrian Consulate in Bratislava.

President: When did you become acquainted with the accused, Dr Michal Buzalka?

Bárová: I have known the accused, Bishop Dr. Buzalka, since my confirmation, and later on during the so-called Slovak State I used to go to the shelter in the Apostolic Administration in Bratislava, where the accused also used to go, and there I got to know him more closely. Dr Buzalka recognised my deep, religious feeling and he knew, that as Germans we were to be transported from the Czechoslovak Republic, and he arranged it so that we could stay in the Republic.

President: Used you to meet the accused after the liberation, too?

Bárová: Yes, when I became a secretary at the Austrian Consulate-General, I used to bring him espionage reports from an official at the Consulate, Rainoch. Apart from this, once a week I used to bring to Bishop Buzalka from the Consul-General, K. Nedved, various anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist newspapers. In 1947 I brought him an illegal newspaper, issued by Ďurčanský's emigré group. Rainoch used to send to Buzalka by me also various bulletins, published by Ďurčanský abroad. After reading them through, Buzalka returned them to Rainoch, so that they should not be found in the Bishop's Residence. Buzalka used to read them with great interest.

President: Did you deliver to Buzalka from Rainoch any more of these printed matters?

Bärová: Some kind of memorandum in an envelope. Rainoch told me that there were important things in this envelope.

President: What other espionage tasks did you fulfil?

Bärová: In 1948 Karol Rainoch needed for the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna reports for which I had to ask Buzalka. Dr. Buzalka rendered me these reports. I delivered them to Rainoch and he sent them by courier to Vienna.

President: Did Buzalka know that these reports would be sent to the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna?

Bärová: Yes, I told him so. Further, in 1949 Karol Rainoch gave me a questionnaire concerning security measures. Dr. Buzalka filled in this questionnaire and Rainoch then from all the questionnaires compiled a complete report and sent it by courier to the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna.

President: How was it in 1949 when the Catholic Action was developing?

Bärová: At that time Rainoch gave me a questionnaire in which there were questions concerning the economic, political situation in Slovakia and also concerning the development of the Catholic Action. I gave the questionnaire to Buzalka who read the answers, corrected them and said, that they were all right except for small details. Then he gave it back to me and I returned it to Rainoch who said, that he would send it to Dr. Ďurčanský.

President: So he said he would send it to Ďurčanský. Did Buzalka know of this?

Bärová: Yes.

President: What other persons collaborated with Rainoch in his espionage?

Bärová: I don't know exactly, but he certainly had some other contacts as he was always very well informed about what was going on in Slovakia.

President: Did you maintain espionage contact only between Buzalka and Rainoch?

Bärová: No. In 1949 the Consul-General, Karol Höffe, gave me post for Vienna. About the same time Rainoch gave me a letter for the Apostolic Nunciature and told me to be very careful as it was an espionage report. The same in 1949, Rainoch gave me a letter in Ďurčanský's own handwriting to deliver to Buzalka.

President: What did Buzalka do when you delivered the letter to him?

Bärová: He read it and after reading it through, he returned it to me and said I was to let Rainoch know, that he could not obtain the minutes as he had no such possibilities.

President: Were you aware, that you were carrying out espionage against Czechoslovakia?

Bärová: I was aware of it. In 1949 when I delivered Ďurčanský's letter to Dr. Buzalka, I mentioned these fears of mine but Dr. Buzalka told me not to worry, nothing would happen to me, and he gave me his word of honour.

President: Do you wish to add anything more?

Bärová: Yes. Honourable members of the Court, I want to add that I feel my great guilt, that from the bottom of my heart I regret, that I sinned against this People's Democratic Republic. I fell into the clutches of a war-monger, who exploited my ignorance and my job. Dr. Buzalka knew very well how I was living. When I requested him to help me with the matter of my damp flat, he replied, that the Bratislava Chapter had no money and refused. Thus was expressed his love to his neighbour. But when I brought him espionage reports he very willingly received me, for that was in his interest. May my grievous fate, brought upon me by this Bishop, be a warning! This Bishop ruined my whole life.

President: Dr. Buzalka, what have you to say to this testimony?

Buzalka: Mr. President I would only remark to the testimony of the witness, that the letter which she brought, signed in Ďurčanský's own handwriting, I had not requested.

President: But in substance, is it the truth or is it a lie, what the witness told us?

Buzalka: It is not a lie, the witness—I cannot deny it—spoke the truth.

President: Are there any other questions?... No questions. I interrupt today's session and we shall continue tomorrow morning at eight o'clock.

The Fourth Day of the Trial

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, DEZIDER KALINA

President: I declare the interrupted session open again. We continue the trial with the hearing of witnesses and the making known of the written material.

Bring in the witness, Dezider Kalina. (*The witness, Dezider Kalina, comes in.*)

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the trial.

President: Did you take part during the war in the fighting on the Eastern Front?

Kalina: As an officer for the maintenance of military communications, I took part for eight months in the rear of the German Army.

President: And you spoke with the accused, Buzalka, about certain things—your knowledge about the barbarities of the Nazi soldiers.

Kalina: Because I found myself 400—500 kilometres behind the front, I had the opportunity to observe from the distance and near to, how the Nazis revenged themselves on the Soviet citizens and on the Poles and on the members of the Jewish faith. Once I saw them executing near to the community of Lipovice members of the Jewish faith. It was in the Ukraine. There they were just shooting 700—800 children, mothers, old folk and youths. On a Sunday afternoon they lead them away, where they first stripped them, that is they had to strip themselves naked and then they had to descend in fours and fives into a common grave which was about 20x20 metres large and five metres deep. There

they had to lie down and one after the other they were shot. It horribly affected me, having arrived there in a German uniform, in particular when towards the end there were left four three to four-year-old children, who when they could no longer see their parents did not know where to go, so that they hysterically rushed here and there, when one of the Nazis—they were the so-called Schutzmanns—ordered them to go down the steps and there a tall executioner kicked them so, that they fell down and then they shot them. At the end an old man was left there, about ninety years' old, with a long, white beard. Four militia men caught hold of him, stripped him and threw him into that common grave, face-down. The executioner stepped to him, shot him and in a little while one could see the white beard turning red with blood.

All this that I saw affected me terribly.

When I was returning back from the front, our transport by a chance coincidence, had to stop near to the community of Oswiecim. We stayed there for about three quarters of an hour. There was a locomotive where a Czech from Budějovice was on duty, and so I started talking to him. He told me, that about fifty metres further on, my countrymen were just being tortured. And really in a little while I overheard some Slovak words. They were members of the Jewish faith in Slovakia, very much weakened. They were carrying straw mattresses and because they were already very weakened, all of them were bent. The Germans straightened them out in threes. As he was pushing them, the last one at the back fell into the ditch. I saw the Nazi guard beating them and heard clearly shrieks of, "It's hurting me, it's hurting me, I'm getting into line". He gave the first ones who were standing in threes a beating such as I had not seen since my boyhood when they used to whip the oxen like this.

These moments had such an effect on me, that on my return from the front, I sought out the accused, Buzalka, and reported him all about it. Because at that time they were spreading news, that Jewish citizens were being deported only for work, I described all the details to the accused, Bishop Buzalka, and asked him to bring me before Tiso and Tuka to whom I would relate all this, as he had said previously, that he had direct approach to them.

President: What attitude did the accused, Buzalka take to your revelations?

Kalina: I had the impression, that he was not keen to deal with this case. When at the second and third visits, I again asked him to be taken before Tiso and Tuka, he at last told me, that I would not be brought before them. At that time he ended with these words, "You know, my dear brother, according to the Bible, it is the fate of the Jews to be persecuted."

President: What was your conclusion about the behaviour of the high Church hierarchy at that time?

Kalina: I saw from these facts, that the accused, Bishop Buzalka, as well as Tiso, Tuka and the whole Church hierarchy knew what was going on with the citizens of the Jewish religion and in spite of that, under the cloak of forced labour, they were still surrendering them to death in Oswieczim, that is, that they were jointly responsible for these crimes and that they were collaborating in them.

President: Do you want to add anything to your testimony?

Kalina: I have a remark which characterises the behaviour of the high Church hierarchy. When, during the Uprising, as Commander of the Infantry Regiment, I was on duty in Žernovica, near Zvolen, one afternoon a civilian visited me, who somehow had got into my office at Headquarters and sobbingly begged me to promise on my word of honour as an officer to release him without punishment. At that time I thought, that this man had committed some small trespass and wanted to make amends by admitting it. I promised him, that he would leave my room unmolested. At that moment he threw off his coat and revealed the white collar of a priest and then he introduced himself as a clerical dean. Unfortunately, I don't know now definitely whether he said, that he came from Sklené Teplice or from a parish nearby. He then stood impudently in front of me and said, "Now that I have your word of honour as an officer, I can tell you why I was sent here". He said, that he had been sent by high Church circles to inform me, that if I did not, immediately, together with my regiment, surrender to Tiso's Army, I should be excommunicated from the Church. Then with an appropriate appeal to my honour he called me a Czech-Jewish-Bolshevik and other similar names.

As I had given my word as an officer, I released him and said, "Make yourself scarce as quickly as possible, so that I don't break my word". He then went on, that this was a message, only now

I don't know exactly whether it was from the Military Bishop or from the Nitra Bishop. This is also a characteristic sign of the behaviour of the high Church hierarchy at that time towards the Uprising.

President: Are there any questions?

Prosecutor: When was it that you spoke to the accused, Buzalka, about these horrors?

Kalina: After my return from the Eastern Front, sometime in November, in the middle of November in 1942.

President: Has the accused anything to say to the testimony?

Buzalka: Mr. President, what the witness said about coming to me and speaking to me, is true. Only his further conclusions are mistaken.

President: What conclusions?

Buzalka: That I said that about the fate of the Jews. I was not expressing my own opinion but merely repeating what Tiso had said.

President: So it was a quotation of Tiso's?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: Mr. Kalina do you wish to comment on the statement of the accused?

Kalina: I remember very precisely, that the accused quoted either one of the saints or the Bible. When you accompanied me out of the office, at the door you said to me, "Dear brother, it is the fate of the Jews, according to the Bible, to be persecuted".

President: Mr. Accused, do you still affirm, that it was from Tiso?

Buzalka: Yes.

President: Are there any questions to the witness?... No questions. Thank you, Mr. Kalina. *(The witness goes out.)*

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, BORIS TURKYŇÁK

President: Bring in the witness, Boris Turkeyňák. *(The witness, Turkeyňák comes in.)*

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You are the accused, Bishop Gojdič's, former secretary.

What is known to you about the anti-State activity of the accused?

Turkyňák: I want to state the whole truth. I have known Bishop Gojdič since 1927. I recognised in him an enemy of Communism, Socialism and of progress and of the Soviet Union. During the so-called Slovak State he maintained contact with high German dignitaries in Slovakia, he negotiated with them and at their request, in order to please them, he called upon the clergy of the Prešov diocese, to volunteer for missionary work in the occupied territory of the USSR and there to preach unification and the need to help the Germans. As far as his activity after the liberation is concerned; I know, that illegal circulars and Pastoral letters of anti-State content used to arrive at the Greek Catholic bishopric.

President: What did the accused do with them?

Turkyňák: On his orders they were sent out to individual parish offices and later on to the addresses of the wives of the priests.

President: Was this done also in any other way?

Turkyňák: I remember—because I was at the same time driver of the Bishop's car—at visits to individual parishes we took with us these anti-State circulars, which the Bishop after Divine Service used to distribute among the clergy. I remember such cases in Michalovce and in Stropkov.

President: Who produced these illegal printed matters?

Turkyňák: Some arrived from Prague, from the Archbishop's office, some were duplicated in Prešov. I remember eight of them. Among them were also secret faculties for the Bishop's deputies.

President: How did you deliver these secret faculties to the priests?

Turkyňák: Secretly and illegally.

President: Was there need of any secret measures? Was the religious activity of the priests being hindered in any way?

Turkyňák: No.

President: Do you know of any other activity of the accused which was aimed against the Republic?

Turkyňák: In 1945 the Bishop accepted into the service of the Greek Catholic diocese, priests who had illegally crossed our frontiers from Poland or from the Soviet Union and then he placed them in parish offices.

President: What sort of people were they?

Turkyňák: The Security organs sought these people for their participation in the German occupation in the army or for their activity against the Polish State during the war.

President: They were Banderites.

Turkyňák: Yes. The Bishop placed them also in monasteries and arranged for them Birth Certificates on the basis of which they could obtain other personal documents.

President: Who produced these Birth Certificates? Was it the Bishop, himself?

Turkyňák: The clergy did it at the request of and on the orders of the Bishop.

President: Were these documents false?

Turkyňák: Yes.

President: Is this all you know about the anti-State activity of the accused, Gojdič?

Turkyňák: I remember also that Msgr. Verolino and De Liva from the Prague Internunciature used to visit the Bishop. De Liva had secret consultations with the Bishop, the content of which is not known to me.

President: Didn't you even later on find out about the result of these consultations?

Turkyňák: From conversations it was possible to gather, that the Bishop at this visit had received important instructions for further anti-State activity.

President: Any other questions?... No questions. Does the accused wish to say anything?

Gojdič: I have nothing to say to the testimony.

President: The hearing of the witness is closed.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, PAVOL HUČKO

President: Bring in the witness, Pavol Hučko.

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You were sentenced for your anti-State activity to 15 years'. What did your activity consist of?

Hučko: On the advice and instructions of Bishop Gojdič and the Provincial of the Order of the Basilians, Sabol, I organised

the passage of Banderite groups over our territory. I hid them in my parish office and helped them in their flight abroad.

President: How long have you known the accused, Bishop Gojdič?

Hučko: Since 1939, when I was priest in Medzilaborce. I got to know him more closely in 1942, when I was transferred to Prešov as a dean and teacher of Religion. There we visited each other.

President: How did you become priest in Prague?

Hučko: On the suggestion of Provincial Sabol, Bishop Gojdič appointed me there.

President: For what reason did he send you in particular there?

Hučko: I think it was because he knew of my loyalty to the Vatican and also because at that time, in 1945, my relationship with Bishop Gojdič had already achieved a certain degree of intimacy.

President: What is one to understand by this intimacy?

Hučko: It was like this, to express myself clearly, at that time in accordance with his directions and also with those of the Provincial Sabol, I had started my anti-State activity.

President: Could you express yourself more concretely about this activity of yours?

Hučko: It was a major conspiracy together with the high Church dignitaries, by which we tried to help the fleeing priests and others, who on the occupied territory, had collaborated with the German occupants and now were fleeing from punishment from Poland and the Soviet Union. We hid them, we made their discovery impossible and at the same time we gained from them important reports about conditions in Poland and in the Soviet Union. Later on I helped to organise the flight of the Banderite groups, members of UPA and OUN, over the frontier into Germany.

President: You said, that you also gained reports. Tell us something about this espionage activity of yours. Did you get orders from the accused Bishop Gojdič in this connection, too?

Hučko: Bishop Gojdič sent to me to Prague several espionage reports, concerning Poland and the Soviet Union. I had to hand over these reports, according to Bishop Gojdič's instructions, to Nuncio Fornì, which in fact I did. At the same time I translated some of these reports from Ukrainian into Latin.

President: Did you know the content of these reports?

Hučko: Yes, they concerned Church conditions and certain economic, but mainly political, conditions in those States.

President: How did Gojdič acquire those other, those espionage reports?

Hučko: Fleeing priests, whom we hid and helped through our territory, handed them to him.

President: How many such espionage reports did you receive?

Hučko: There were many of them, but I don't remember the exact number. Sabol also used to bring similar reports to the Internunciature.

President: Used you to place fleeing Banderites in parishes? Could you mention some concrete cases.

Hučko: A certain Buranič, by origin a Ukrainian, came once to me from Gojdič and Sabol. He brought me a recommendation from Bishop Gojdič to take him on. Before that he was hiding at Sabol's in Prešov.

President: Did he have any documents?

Hučko: Gojdič's note, that I should take him on meant, that I should procure for him a false document of State Citizenship.

President: How did you procure this State Citizenship?

Hučko: I confirmed with my signature and seal the application which Buranič sent in. The false statements in the application were confirmed by Mistik who also signed Bishop Gojdič's name, so that the references and application would be more effective.

President: Do you remember any more of such cases? What do you know about Melník?

Hučko: Melník was a Greek Catholic priest who collaborated with the German occupants and who also was a full member of UPA. He also came to me with a letter from Gojdič asking me to place him in a parish in Liberec. I did this and he worked there for several months.

President: When did Melník come to Slovakia?

Hučko: He came as early as sometime in 1944, when Bishop Gojdič placed him in a parish in Slovakia and while the front was near, Provincial Sabol hid him in Trebišov.

President: Do you remember anyone else?

Hučko: Yes, I remember Pančišin, whom I got into Western Germany, and Federeš, also a member of the organisation UPA, whom I placed in Northern Moravia.

President: You said that Gojdič gave you orders for this anti-State activity. Tell us, did he only give you orders or did he, himself, sometimes carry them out?

Hučko: To this question I would say only, that he gave me about eight to ten sheets of his official paper which were blank but signed at the bottom in his own handwriting and with the Bishop's seal, and which I was to use when falsifying statements, when placing Banderites in parishes, according to exactly defined places. I used these blank forms also in some cases concerning the application for passport of refugees, when I filled in, that it concerned either clerical studies or a journey on behalf of the Church.

President: Did the accused Gojdič help the Banderites in any other way?

Hučko: I was told to support these refugees with Church money from the mission funds. This I did.

President: With Church money you supported spies and terrorists?

Hučko: Yes, on the orders of Bishop Gojdič.

President: With whom else did you co-operate in this anti-State activity?

Hučko: I remember a Mother Superior in an orphanage who in 1946 asked me to obtain false documents for her eight Sisters.

President: Where did these Sisters come from and when?

Hučko: In 1946 they came illegally from the Ukraine. I said then that I needed for that purpose false Birth Certificates in which it would be stated that they were of Czech origin. She told me that she would send me such Birth Certificates. In fact a priest from Prešov in about a fortnight brought them to Prague for me.

President: He brought false Birth Certificates?

Hučko: Yes, they were false.

President: Are there any questions to the witness?

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Ottlyk: Was that Buranič a member of the organisation UPA?

Hučko: Yes.

Counsel for the Defence: Did you know that?

Hučko: Not at the beginning, but I did later on.

President: Would the accused, Bishop Gojdič, come to the mi-

crophone. What do you want to remark on the testimony of the witness?

Gojdič: I have no particular remarks. What he said was also in my statement. It's all true.

President: Thank you. I am interrupting the session for fifteen minutes.

THE HEARING OF THE WITNESS, REHOR BURANIČ

President: We continue the session. Bring in the witness, Rehor Buranič. (*Rehor Buranič comes in.*)

After warning the witness, that he must speak the whole truth and conceal nothing, and having ascertained his personal data, the President went on with the hearing.

President: You will be questioned about your connection with the accused, Gojdič, in anti-State activity.

Buranič: I worked against the People's Democratic order in Czechoslovakia, Poland and against the Soviet Union. I took part in the organisation of the passage of Banderites through the territory of Czechoslovakia. They were agents, threatened by punishment at home, who were hiding on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

President: How did you get to know the accused, Gojdič?

Buranič: When towards the end of 1945 I fled from Poland, so that they should not prosecute me for my activity against the Polish State, on the recommendation of my school-mate, Ježík, I turned to Bishop Gojdič with the request to take me on in his diocese and help me with my illegal stay in Czechoslovakia.

President: Did he grant your request?

Buranič: Yes, he did. For about three weeks I lived secretly in the Prešov Seminary. There I found out, that Bishop Gojdič's activity was wide-spread.

President: What activity?

Buranič: Anti-State. There I got to know also a certain Lištin-ský, whom Bishop Gojdič was also hiding in the Seminary as a theologian, although he had never been one. There I found out also, that Bishop Gojdič was hiding Banderites in the various parishes and monasteries of the Prešov diocese, that he procured documents for them and that he sent them abroad.

President: Where to, abroad?

Buranič: Mostly to the American Occupation Zone in Germany, some of them to America or to Italy.

President: Do you know who was Bishop Gojdič's closest collaborator?

Buranič: The Provincial of the Order of the Basilians, Sebastian Sabol, who, together with Professor Myskiv, procured many documents needed for obtaining visas from the American authorities. In Prague it was the priest, Hučko, who collaborated with him.

President: What more do you know about Hučko's activity?

Buranič: Hučko worked according to instructions and orders from Bishop Gojdič and Provincial Sabol. I witnessed once how he and Canon Lobodič issued a certain Banderite and his wife with false Birth and Marriage Certificates.

President: Was it that priest who introduced his sister as his wife?

Buranič: I do not know details about him, only that he later on the basis of these false documents obtained a passport and they travelled abroad.

President: Tell us some details about your contact with Gojdič and Hučko.

Buranič: Later on I received a false confirmation from Bishop Gojdič, that I was travelling to Prague for theological studies and, that I was a member of his diocese. Bishop Gojdič told me to turn to the priest, Hučko, who would arrange the rest. From the time, that I gave this letter of recommendation to Hučko, I used to go regularly to his Prague parish and I used to help him. I noticed that many people used to come there at that time.

President: What sort of people and who sent them there?

Buranič: They were people who had fled from some regions of Poland and the Soviet Union because they had to account for their collaboration with the German occupants before the Court.

President: Do you remember any concrete case?

Buranič: Yes, for example the priest, Bazilian Ivanič, stayed in the Prague parish for three or four months and then left for America with a passport procured for him by Professor Myskiv. Further travelled abroad in this way a certain Mička, Balcar, Hunka, Šimček and others. Until the time when they came to Prague they were hiding in monasteries in Eastern Slovakia.

President: How did you organise the transit of the Banderites over our border?

Buranič: That was done by Hučko and myself.

President: With whom did you collaborate in the Czech border regions?

Buranič: With the Roman Catholic parish in Aš. I took to Aš a certain Lažinský whom Gojdič had hidden for about a year in his Seminary in Prešov. Similarly, the priest, Lazarovič, and his wife, who had hidden in the Prague Charitas and a certain Pančíšin.

President: Was this the only way through which you organised flights abroad?

Buranič: No, we did it also through the shoemaker, Prodan, to whom I was introduced by a certain farmer from Brtná. With Prodan we agreed on a conspiratorial form of sending to him people for transit to Germany.

President: What was that form?

Buranič: Every person had to hand over to Prodan a blue envelope. On one side the figure 60 was written and on the other side the name. There was always money inside the envelope. It meant to Prodan, that the person who introduced himself in this way, had been sent from the Prague parish.

President: Did Hučko, too, use the services of the shoe-maker, Prodan?

Buranič: Yes. He sent through him to Bavaria a certain student, Mendík, and later on the priest, Žilinský, from Cracow, who was a Banderite courier and who transported important espionage material. But the Security organs stopped Žilinský with all his espionage material.

President: Have you said everything you know about the accused Bishop Gojdič?

Buranič: I have said everything briefly and truthfully.

President: Any questions? ... No questions ... Has the accused, Gojdič, anything to say to the testimony of the witness? Is his testimony true?

Gojdič: Most of it is. Only some details seem to me different.

President: Are there any other remarks or questions? ... No. The hearing of the witness is closed.

THE MAKING KNOWN OF FURTHER DOCUMENTS

President: We continue with the examination of the documents. I make known the files of the case against Kleiner and co. who was sentenced to death for his crimes by the National Court in Bratislava. Here are the testimonial statements of the witnesses, Riška and Kmicikievič. I am reading from the evidence of the witness, Jaroslav Kmicikievič, "After my arrival to the Security Division at the end of March, 1942, I was informed by my friend Malár about the tasks of this division. The division, which was commanded by Lt.-Colonel Pavlovič and Malár, behaved very tolerantly towards the civilian inhabitants. But regiment 103, whose Commander was Lt.-Colonel Lokšík, a well-known Gestapo man and friend of Tuka, together with the Germans, carried out actions against the civilian inhabitants. They burned down villages, shot civilian inhabitants, women, children and old folk, similarly to the S.S. units ..."

Further, from the testimonial statement of Riška, Officer of Career, questioned in the same case, the following is quoted: "On August 2, 1942, it happened to be a Sunday, a civilian came to our village with the information, that the village, Malé Duše was burning. Because this little village belonged to our region, we got the order to go to the village, put out the fire and assist the civilian population. There we found out, that the village had been set fire to by bombardment by Slovak airmen. In the centre of the village we saw the civilian population assembled, and next to them stood the accused officer, Kleinert, hand grenades suspended round his chest, and the Major of the village spoke to the assembled civilians. I saw the accused, Kleinert, prompting the Major as he spoke. From the speech I understood, that the group, mostly women and children and among them also an old man with only one leg, whom the Major had called out, and who were standing separately, were to be shot. I heard with my own ears Ist Lt. Kleinert asking the soldiers who of them was a good shot, to which a number of soldiers stepped forward. Then I saw him ordering the civilians to be conducted to a nearby house ... Then Lt. Gaško and myself argued with Kleinert not to shoot these innocent people and at the same time we protested against this barbaric action in our region. He shouted at us not to interfere with these things, they were his business. He also refused to

attend to the wounded civilians whom our medical doctor wanted to help. I mixed among the soldiers, so that Kleinert would not notice that I had entered the house into which the soldiers had conducted the civilians. There I saw horrible scenes. One soldier ordered a woman to lie down on the ground face-down and said, "It will be better for you like this," when she begged him not to shoot her. I also saw them shoot a baby and its mother who at most was twenty-six years old. Apart from that, I saw them shoot two boys between eight and ten years old and also an old man with one leg. The soldiers shot their victims in the back. I saw, that they did not die immediately for that young woman for a long time was writhing and groaning. Then I saw the soldiers set fire to the house in which these shot victims were lying. There were people half-alive. It's possible, that several of them were burned alive. I don't know exactly how many people were shot, there were about eleven of them ... Immediately after my arrival together with Lt. Gaško, I wrote a report to Headquarters, in which we described in detail this whole event. Because of this report we were later on questioned and we were reprimanded, that we should not stand up for the civilian population."

Prosecutor: I suggest, that the accused Buzalka should comment on this document.

Buzalka: Mr. President, I have never agreed with such or similar scenes and deeds.

Prosecutor: Not even with praising and supporting the fascist regime and encouraging the soldiers in the fight?

Buzalka: This was no longer military discipline, it was a brigand's bestiality committed on the population.

Prosecutor: Apparently you have forgotten about your Pastoral letters which were made known here, and in which you misused God's name when you affirmed to the soldiers, that it was their duty to obey the orders of their commanders. Even such commanders as was Kleinert. That is why you also bear the responsibility.

Buzalka: (Remained silent).

President: Further, I hereby state from the document IV/431 submitted by the State Prosecutor, that is from a letter of Bishop Vojtaššák of March 3, 1949, that the negotiation, which the high Church hierarchy conducted with the government, was a sham negotiation and not a sincere one. Here the discussions with the

government are described and it says, "Such is the existing situation ... in 1949, the negotiations are only formal ... an extreme caution is recommended."

Further, I hereby state from document I/203 the marginal notes of the clergy of the Spiš diocese to the suggested new Law on Salaries. From the document one can see, that a broad, disruptive action against the Law on Salaries of the clergy was organised, when all the parish offices received a uniform example of how they should protest against this law.

From document I/172, from the files of the case against Dr. Ivan Murín and co., one can deduct, that Peter Maxoň during his visit to Karol Sidor in Rome, accepted among others a message for Bishop Vojtaššák, in which Sidor asked for financial means. Maxoň delivered this message at a personal visit to the accused, Vojtaššák.

From the same files I make known the fact, that the nun, Jozefa Hildegarda, testified as a witness, that in 1947 when she was in Italy, a certain Krchniak visited her and at this occasion brought her a letter for Bishop Vojtaššák. The above-named brought the letter to Slovakia and delivered it to Bishop Vojtaššák, through Dr. Beňuška. Further, from these files I state, that on 12th October, 1947, an unknown man, who introduced himself as Dr. Ján Solár, came to Valeria Krchniaková, wife of the emigré, Krchniak, and asked her to arrange, herself, or to get some else to, an approach to Bishop Vojtaššák, so that he could deliver a letter from Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský. At the same time this man remarked, that Ďurčanský was asking for money from Vojtaššák. Further, I state from the same files, that the letter which Ďurčanský sent to Bishop Vojtaššák, should have been taken by Ďurčanský's sister, who had delivered another letter.

President to the accused, Vojtaššák: Is the letter of which Krchniaková speaks here, that letter of which you spoke in your hearing?

Vojtaššák: Yes, Mr. President, that's the one.

President: I make known document II/47—it is the considerable journalistic activity of Dr. Buzalka in the years 1938 and 1939 partly in "Slovák" and partly in "Katolícke Noviny", aiming at the breaking up of the Republic, as the accused, himself, mentioned during his hearing.

Further, I make known document 2/25 from which it is clear, that the Apostolic Administration in Trnava on October 6, 1944 issued all Roman Catholic priests in the public clerical administration with a model of a declaration which all priests had to sign against the Slovak National Uprising.

Further, I make known document 2/43, which is a letter from Archbishop Beran in his own handwriting to Bishop Buzalka, in which he informs him, that he has intervened in the case of Deputy of the so-called Slovak State, Steinhübl, and that so far it has not been decided about his amnesty. Beran as well as Buzalka intervened in favour of a war criminal, who as a member of Deutsche Partei hid rifles in his church during the Slovak National Uprising, and then he, himself, with a weapon in his hand took part in the fight against the Uprising.

Further, I make known a large number of photographs. Here is a photograph, picturing the accused, Buzalka, celebrating Field Mass for soldiers fallen at the Front. Further, here is a photograph in which Dr. Buzalka is in the society of German Nazi officers and representatives of the so-called Slovak State. On another photograph the accused, Dr. Buzalka, as Vicar-general is in the society of the Nazi General Otto, on whom he is smiling in a very friendly manner. On a further photograph Dr. Buzalka is again celebrating Field Mass, round about are flags including the swastika. Further here is a photograph of the audience of the Bishops' Council with Dr. Tiso.

Further, I make known document 4/9. It is a Pastoral letter from the Slovak Bishops from their consultations in Žilina which took place on October 24, 1939, in which the Bishops declared their unreserved adherence to the Tuka-Tiso fascist regime.

I further make known document 4/11. It is a report of the main Headquarters of the Hlinka Youth about the clerical consultations for the Hlinka Youth.

Further, there is document 4/13. It is an article from "Gardista" of September 8, 1944, in which the bishops call upon the believers to preserve calm, order and obedience to the Slovak State, thus this article is aimed against the beginning of the Slovak Uprising.

Further here is document 4/15. It is a report of the Bishops' Council for the main Headquarters of the Hlinka Youth of 1941, in which the Bishops' Council allows Bishops to wear the uniform

of the Hlinka Youth, that means that the priests can wear fascist uniforms.

I make known document 4/39. It concerns material from the Bishops' consultation of November 13—15, 1945 in Olomouc, that means at the time when all the efforts of our working people were directed at removal of war damage and at building, at that time at this Bishops' consultation they issued a memorandum which makes it clear, that one of the most comprehensive points of their programme was the preservation of Church property.

I state, that document 4/54 consists of a suggestion for application to the leadership of the Slovak National Council in the case of Tiso. The document is from December, 1945, and a draft of this application was sent to all bishoprics. The suggested application to the leadership of the Slovak National Council and also to the Board of Commissioners contains even threats. I quote, "The solution of his (Tiso's) question will have a far-reaching influence on the attitude towards the renewed Czechoslovakia and her representatives." That means, they threaten the consequences if the request is not granted.

Further, I make known document 1/147. It is a record of the minutes of a meeting of the clergy on September 12, 1945 in Kežmarok. Štefan Hatala, secretary of the accused, Vojtaššák, had a lecture there in which he described the industrialisation of Slovakia as a danger.

Further, I make known document 1/44. It is a record of the minutes of the Bishops' Conference in Nitra on August 16, 1943. It concerns instructions for disruptive activity against the new Law of Salaries. Further, there is document 1/28, a record of the minutes of the Bishops' Conference on November 18, 1947 in Prague at which the accused, Vojtaššák, presided. As it emerges, they discussed there the suggestion of the Prague Internuncio about the organisation of actions against the Education Act and against the Land Reform. Further, there is document 4/77, a copy of the minutes of the extraordinary Bishops' conference in the Archbishop's palace on February 5, 1948 where the decision was taken, that the Bishops should not recognise government measures concerning Church property on the grounds, that only the Vatican can decide and it was suggested, that should the request of the Bishops' not be granted, Interdict should be declared on Prague.

I make known document 4/83, Sullivan's letter to Bishop Voj-

taššák, in which he thanks him for the supplied information and it transpires from this letter that he used to receive reports from the priests in the Hungarian border regions concerning security measures of our country.

I state, that document 4/84 concerns a Pastoral letter from the Czechoslovak Bishops about which the accused have been already examined, and whose disruptive nature they have admitted.

Further, there is document 4/88, a letter from the priest Anton Dujsík, from which I ascertain the form in which the Church authorities exercised terror. Dujsík was questioned by the Church authorities on the basis of some information, and he begged them to reveal at least the name of him who had supplied the information. Among other things he writes, "I know from what direction the wind is blowing. It's not because of what is in the indictment but because I am loyal to the present regime, further, because I signed the greeting to Stalin, that I signed the Friendship with the Union of Socialist Republics, that in Divine Service I always remind them, render unto Caesar, that is to the State, that which is Caesar's and unto the Lord, that which is the Lord's. That is for my loyalty to the present regime, I have to receive Church punishment."

Further, I make known document 4/103, an excommunication decree of the Vatican used against persons of progressive thoughts. In document 4/108 there are Pastoral letters from the Bishops, the content of which has already been stated during the hearing of the accused. These are letters of disruptive and inflammatory nature. Similarly in documents 4/109 and 4/118 are illegal Pastoral letters.

In document 4/112 is a letter from Archbishop Kmeňko of June 25, 1948 in which he writes, that he is prohibiting priests from making public speeches at political assemblies before the elections, that is before the elections of 1948, when the National Front put forward a united list of candidates.

Further, I make known document IV/129, a file concerning the case against the accused Botek and co. about the Catholic Office in Slovakia. It concerns an espionage report requested by the Central Catholic Office from the parish offices which in response to this appeal used to send reports on production, on workers' pay and so on.

Further, I state from the files of the National Court of the

case against S.S. General Höffle and former Nazi Minister, Ludin, that Nazi Generals Höffle and Berger were twice at Archbishop Kmeřko's and consulted with him on how to disrupt the morale of the army of the Uprising. Further, I make known document 1/44, secret faculties by means of which the accused, Vojtařřák, was authorised to appoint illegal Bishops.

The President submits the documents to the accused for inspection.

President: Do the accused wish to make any remarks to the documents enumerated here?

(The accused declare, that they have nothing to add to the documents.)

President: No remarks. According to the suggestion of the State Prosecutor, after the making known of the whole of the evidential material, that is after the hearing of the witnesses and after making known all the documents submitted by the State Prosecutor, experts on military and political intelligence will be now heard. I warn them, that it is their duty to submit their expert judgment, according to their expert knowledge and experience.

Prosecutor: I suggest, that the public be excluded for State security reasons during the reading of the expert judgment.

President: Because State secrets would be endangered by the publicly making known of part of the expert judgment, I exclude the public from the next part of the trial. We shall continue the public session today at 3 p-m. I now interrupt the session for fifteen minutes.

(The State Court then continued in camera.)

The Closing Speech of the Deputy State Prosecutor, Dr. Ján Feješ

President: I declare open again the interrupted session of the trial of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, Suffragan Bishop Dr. Buzalka and Bishop Pavol Gojdič for the crimes of high treason and espionage. I state that all proofs, that is all evidential and other material, as far as has been submitted, have been made known.

Are there any suggestions for completing the questioning? ... No. I declare therefore the evidential part of the session closed. I now call on the State Prosecutor to make his closing speech.

The Deputy State Prosecutor delivered the following speech:

Honourable members of the State Court!

Our Slovakia is living through a great and glorious time in the strengthening of our People's Democratic Republic. She in is the middle of such a surge of building of which the past generation could not even dream. Our fatherland, liberated at the price of heavy sacrifices by the fraternal Soviet Army, at whose side were the fighting, heroic soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army and the Slovak partisan detachments, has, thanks to the working heroism of our people, quickly recovered from the wounds inflicted by the German occupation and the war. The Slovak people with the help of their Czech brothers, led by the Communist Party, steeled in the fight, courageously stepped out towards a new life. Magnificent are the results of the valliant efforts of the Slovak workers, peasants and intelligentsia loyal to the people.

Tens upon tens of new factories are smoking in our valleys, and our whole Slovakia is one hive of industry, where new power-stations, factories, temples of culture and blocks of flats are springing up and every day are testifying to the strength and vitality of the People's Democratic order of our State.

A new era is dawning for our villages, for our honest, peasant people. They are now and for ever masters of the soil which for centuries they watered with their sweat but whose fruit was appropriated by the master—foreign or native. The powerful industry of our State is supplying the working peasantry with more and more modern, agricultural machinery, so that the working peasant, strong in the community of the co-operative, has been liberated from slavish drudgery and can step out along the path to a rich cultural life.

To the irrevocable past belongs the time when the Slovak soil could not support its sons, and when poverty-stricken Slovaks deserted their country en masse, to seek a miserable living in the wide world, by wearisome toil for foreign masters. Now there are neither masters nor beggars in our country. Slovakia is a country of free, confident builders of a happier present and a glorious future for the Slovak nation.

And all this, thanks to the fact, that our liberated people took into their own hands the administration of their own affairs and finished for ever with the masters who had been sucking them and selling them and that, in firm, unshakeable bonds with the Czech people, and with their fraternal help, they are building the national home of the Slovaks, forever safeguarded in a strong and united Czechoslovak State. And for these better times the Slovak people, together with the Czech people, have to thank the desinterested and multifarious aid of their liberator—the mighty Soviet Union.

And in these days, when the working people in our factories and villages, with the care of good husbandmen, are proceeding to the solution of complicated and responsible tasks to ensure the quicker development of the economic strength of our country and of the living standard of the people, in these days, when all brave Slovak men and women are dedicating all their strength to the improvement of the Republic and the fight for peace, in these days, when the eyes of our people are fixed on the glorious future, here in this Court, the past has paraded before us.

The foremost representatives of the world of masters' oppres-

sion and un-Christian exploitation have been summoned before the Court of the people. Not only did they not desire for their people a life worthy of the dignity of man, and for the Slovaks a safeguarded national life in the Czechoslovak Republic, but they did not shrink from any crime to drag the people into a new servitude and the nation into a new subjugation, from the tricks of the oppressors, and hateful incitation against the State, to the organisation of disruption, plotting and espionage and thus to positively helping the dark forces of reaction which were preparing a new, criminal, enslaving war against mankind. From it, from this bloody, criminal war, led also against our people and our State, they expected to achieve the return of their lost paradise, the return of the times of the old masters.

In this deepest moral morass ended up the high Church dignitaries, the accused, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, who concealed their crimes under high rank, but whose true faces the trial revealed.

Where were they at the time of oppression by the gentry, of cruel de-nationalisation of the Slovak? They were at the side of the foreign masters.

Where were they in the pre-Munich Republic: at the time when our working people, in their bitter social struggle, were fighting for work and a larger slice of bread? They were in the camp of the industrialists, landowners and bankers, in the camp of those who answered the just demands of our workers with truncheons, imprisonment and also with salvos from rifles. At the time when Hitler's bloody imperialism threatened the Republic and was planning destruction for the Czech and Slovak people, the accused, Vojtaššák and Buzalka, as representatives and exponents of the fascist and separatist leadership of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party and the accused, Gojdič, as an interveterate enemy of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian people, allied themselves with the enemy's fifth column and the Henleinites and the Esterházyites and the Brodyites, and were plotting against the Republic.

Where were the accused in those hard times when the fascist criminals governed Slovakia, when the Nazi occupants were plundering the Slovak countryside, when the S. S. guardistic cut-throats were sending people to the death-camps, when Tiso's lackeys, in the pay of the Berlin "bread-givers", drove Slovak workers to the Reich and Slovak youth into the fratricidal fight

against Catholic Poland and the fraternal nations of the Soviet Union? Where were the accused when the Nazi neo-pagans were throwing into jails and concentration camps Catholic priests who had raised their voices against the inhumanity of fascism? And where were they at the time of high hopes and great heroism, when the Slovak people rose with arms in their hands against the occupants and their lackeys and by their glorious fight for freedom, finished with the era of criminal, degrading fascism?

The accused were in the camp of the fascist criminals, from the beginning to the last moment! They consecrated all the crimes of the fascists with archpastoral blessings. They bear the responsibility for mass murders. Pharisaically they preached, "Thou shalt not kill", and at the same time took part in mass murders. On their conscience lies the blood of innocent victims in concentration camps in Poland and mass terror and murder by the Hitlerites in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, and on their conscience lie also the deaths of the martyrs of Lidice, Kremnička and Sklabina. Pharisaically they preached, "Thou shalt not steal", and voraciously they enriched themselves at the expense of the victims of fascist crimes.

Liberation comes. Our people self-sacrificingly aid the liberating Soviet Army and with enthusiasm enter on the reconstruction of their destroyed homeland. To the liberated territory of Slovakia comes the government of the National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks with its Košice Programme and mobilises all constructive forces in the Republic for the reconstruction of the People's Democratic Czechoslovakia.

The accused, as the foremost representatives of the high Church hierarchy, right from the beginning adopt an inimical attitude towards the constructive efforts of the people and towards the new Republic. They misuse religion, their pulpits and confessionals and all means at their disposal to spread discontent and distrust towards the State, and they divert the believers from constructive building work. They combine legal and illegal methods of anti-State activity. They actively support underground, anti-State groups and at the same time maintain connections with the traitors, Ďurčanský and Sidor, influencing their activity against the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic and her People's Democratic regime. At the same time the accused, following the line of the Bishops' Council and fulfilling instructions

from the Vatican, develop a feverish activity, aimed at the creation of a reactionary bloc within the National Front, through which they hope to achieve the overthrow of the People's Democratic regime and the restoration of capitalism. They develop a feverish activity to renew in disguise the forbidden Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, as a political basis for the anti-State reactionaries in Slovakia. Therefore, the April agreement, as far as concerns its secret character and its anti-State aims, is a highly treasonable agreement. The accused, carrying out the decisions of the Bishops' Council and instructions from the Vatican, develop an unheard of spiritual terror which is combined with direct terrorist actions by underground groups and audacious Hlinkite elements, as well as by the Bandera gang, sent into Slovakia directly by the imperialists to ensure electoral victory for the anti-popular, traitorous, anti-State Democratic Party. The April agreement was, therefore, an important step in the extensive, anti-State plotting of the reaction, from which the way led to an open attempt at an anti-State "coup d'Etat" in February, 1948. The trial revealed, that the carrying out of this treacherous activity by the accused and the whole high Church hierarchy, was primarily directed at the preservation of the Church landed estates and similar worldly material interests. Therefore, they conducted a furious fight in the first place against the Land Reform and also against the nationalisation of the key-points of our economy. For the same reasons, the high Church hierarchy was not missing from the reaction's February plot. As is indisputably proved by the document from the Bishops' Conference in Prague on February 9, 1948, held under the chairmanship of Archbishop Beran, after the suppression of the February coup d'Etat, the high Church hierarchy did not surrender its fight against the government and against the People's Democratic regime. On the contrary, it intensified its inimical activity, despite the fact that the government displayed infinite patience and good-will in an endeavour to come to agreement with the representatives of the Church and despite the fact that the Constitution of May 9 anchored to our State the principle of full religious freedom, which in practice is anxiously guarded and strictly observed. The high Church hierarchy, which never seriously desired the agreement, first interrupted the negotiations with the government, and then in the Spring of 1949 completely broke them off, and went over to an

open, disruptive fight against the government and the People's Democratic regime, during which the accused, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, especially, became the organisers of anti-State actions and espionage activity. By misusing their pulpits, Church festivities, systematic smear-campaigns and their so-called Pastoral letters, they wanted to provoke a disturbance among the believers against the government. All this was done in accordance with direct instructions from the Vatican and under immediate control of the Internuncio, Verolino, in the service of the Western imperialists, who in Summer, 1949, were plotting in Czechoslovakia. And not only in Czechoslovakia—they tried to provoke disruptive actions in Poland and in Hungary, while the fascist dictator, Tito, was to play the decisive role of war-instigator and to create conditions for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Democracies. This trial has proved once more, that the Vatican today is a centre of espionage and disruptive action in the service of American bloody capital.

The accused, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, thus met on common ground with the imperialist war-mongers of a new world conflagration, with the landlords, bankers and monopolists, spies and saboteurs, with Tito's fascists, with the whole repulsive front of speculators in human blood, of mass murderers of whole races and nations.

On this basis, all the accused plotted against their own State and people. Their aim was to restore capitalism in our country by destroying the People's Democratic regime and the independence and sovereignty of the Republic and robbing it of all its freedoms and revolutionary achievements.

Common were also the criminal methods, the means which they employed: disruption, espionage, highly treasonable activity and, finally, speculation and assistance in an aggressive war of the Anglo-American imperialists against their own State and people, a war which would—as they cynically hoped—restore to them their lost wealth and power.

These criminal intentions and criminal activity—in the case of each individual accused, as I am now going to show—was indisputably proved during the trial on the basis of carefully ascertained facts, of documents submitted, of testimonies of the witnesses and, under the weight of these proofs, also by the confessions of the accused.

JÁN VOJTAŠŠÁK

When, in the year 1920, the Vatican nominated as residentiary Bishop in the Spiš Chapter, the comparatively young village priest from Veličná, Ján Vojtaššák, who in 1910 for the sake of a lucrative parish, had canvassed for the Hungarian government party's candidate, the Vatican knew only too well to whom it was entrusting the administration of this diocese. In the person of Ján Vojtaššák, it had appointed to the Bishop's seat, an unshakeable defender of the capitalist order. By the testimonies of the witnesses, Jozef Sakalik and Valent Gaduš, by the files dealing with civil law-suits and the Bailiffs of the District Court in Spišské Podhradie, it was proved during this trial, that Vojtaššák, immediately on taking charge of the administration of this diocese, became an obedient and ruthless executor of the policy of the Vatican, which was anti-national and opposed to the interests of the working people of Spiš and Orava. He did not fail his "bread-givers", the Vatican and the capitalist world backing it. The fate of the poor people of Spiš and Orava interested him only when it concerned his more effective exploitation of the tenants of the episcopal estate, the debtors of the Spiš Chapter's bank and of the "people's" bank in Ružomberok, of which he, himself, was a shareholder, the workers at the Lev printing-press in Ružomberok, in fact of all who came into contact with the enterprises which he administered or of which he was a shareholder. He saw to it, that the episcopal estate and its mills, saw-mills and brickworks carried a profit, so that he could use this profit in support of the most traitorous party in the pre-Munich Republic, Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. The conditions under which the people of his diocese were living did not interest him, as he, himself, admitted during the trial, as he had "other duties".

He became one of the closest collaborators of Hlinka, that Hlinka who, for the sake of a profitable business, for a 20 % commission and for Vojtaššák's millions, was willing already in 1921, together with Vojtaššák, to betray the Republic, at the instructions of the Vatican's Internuncio in Prague, who directed the policy of this party, as was revealed by letters written by Hlinka to Vojtaššák, submitted during this trial.

He misused his influence on the believers in support of this party. He, himself, said here, "As a high Church dignitary, enjoying the confidence of the masses of the believers, I tried to orientate them in the political direction of the Hlinkites and to exploit their support for strengthening the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. To this end I instructed the clergy to persuade the Catholic believers in the elections of 1925 to cast their votes for the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party".

He supported the policy of this party also when, at the Piešťany Conference in 1936, it decided on a fascist course, and when—as it was proved at the trial before the National Court in Bratislava of the war criminal, Jozef Tiso—the leader of this party, Hlinka, on February 8, 1938, that is a month before the seizure of Austria by Hitler, concluded an agreement in Ružomberok with the war criminals, K. H. Frank, bloody hangman of the Czech nation, Ernst Kundt and Franz Karmasin, as representatives of Konrad Henlein, on a common proceeding on the question of the fight against the Republic. As an exponent of this party, he mutilated the Republic during Munich and played a part in the criminal march into slavery to Nazi Germany on March 14, 1939—as he, himself, confessed during the trial.

This highly treasonable activity of his corresponds to the factual substance of the crime of plotting against the Republic under paragraph 1 of Act no. 50/23 Sb.

Vojtaššák marched further along this path during the so-called Slovak State, when he eagerly participated in the building and strengthening of its regime. Even the neo-pagan ideology, gradually introduced into every field of public life, afforded him no obstacle.

As vice-Chairman of the State Council, he participated in all the criminal measures of the Tiso government. In this function of his, together with the other traitors of the Slovak people, posing as statesmen, he agreed to the predatory, military expedition of Tiso's mercenary army, at the side of Nazi Germany, against Poland and the fraternal Soviet Union. He is especially jointly responsible for the lives of Slovak workers and peasants, sent to their deaths in the fratricidal battle on the Eastern Front. He is also jointly responsible for the lives of tens of thousands of citizens, deported on racial grounds, and tortured to death in the Nazi death camps of Oswiecim, Maidanek and elsewhere.

In this connection a heavy indictment is delivered against the accused, Vojtaššák, by document 1/9, which indicates the depths to which degenerate capitalism can drag a representative of the Church, preaching love for one's neighbour. It concerns the case when Vojtaššák in a letter in his own handwriting actually forbade his subordinate priest to christen a four-year-old Jewish child in order to save it from a terrible death in the gas-chamber.

Document 1/93 also speaks about the heartlessness of the accused. According to this document, Bishop Vojtaššák wrote to another Bishop on November 17, 1941, "I would say, that happy will be that State in Europe which succeeds in solving three problems: the Jews, the gypsies and the beggars." That he had in mind the gas-chamber, by means of which Hitler's Nazi regime was "solving" the Jewish problem, is proved by a statement of the accused, made known during the trial, that Nazism, mixed and christened with Christianity, could bring only good to the Slovak people. This cynic wrote to his subordinate priest, who had informed him, that he had refused to swear an oath of loyalty to Tiso's State, because of the crimes against humanity it perpetrated on citizens of the Jewish faith, in a letter of May 8, 1941, the following, "Your Reverence when reading the Law on the Jews considerably confused conceptions. This law does not oppose the teaching of the Catholic Church. It deals with the Jews exclusively as a nationality, which the State has not only the right but even the duty to deal with by law."

When in March, 1943 he received a letter from several Jewish citizens, in which they pointed out to him the horrors of the concentration camps and gas-chambers, and begged him to intervene in the State Council on behalf of the Jews, he sent the letter to Šano Mach. His reply to the plea for mercy was a brutal denunciation. The following also belongs to this category of crimes by the accused, Vojtaššák: on February 3, 1943 at a meeting of the State Council, he drew the attention of Dr. Vašek to the fact, that the taxi-driver, Lörinc, had not yet been deported from Spišské Podhradie. The accused, Vojtaššák, with the Pharisaical excuse, that Jewish families should not be separated during deportation, succeeded in achieving, that they be deported together. He did this, knowing what was being done with the deportees in the gas-chambers. In the State Council he suggested, that a booklet be issued explaining to the people what a hidden danger

the Jews constituted for them. He wanted to paralyse the disapproval manifested by the Slovak working people at the deportations. This feudalism in the vestment of a Bishop made a business even out of mass murders. At the meeting of the State Council on September 30, 1942, when the chairman of UHU (Central State Security), Morávek, reported on the exclusion of Jews from economic life, Vojtaššák declared, "With the exclusion of the Jews we have stepped forward, we have increased our balance." Yes, by this exclusion Vojtaššák had increased also his own balance: by aryaniisation he had acquired more than 200 jutes of soil and millions' worth of spas in Baldovce.

We can understand this heartless attitude of the accused towards the citizens of a different religion, when we consider his ruthless behaviour towards the poor believers in Spiš and Orava, his ruthless exploitation of the tenants and workers on the estates of the Chapter.

Yes, Bishop Vojtaššák, money, Mammon, profit, balance constituted the Biblical Golden Calf to which you bowed more than to anything else. That is why for the sake of a few crowns, you sent the Bailiffs to a poor herdsman, and were not ashamed to give a buyer a free hand in buying the last bells, confiscated by you. That is why you persecuted the poor people of Spiš and Orava with innumerable legal proceedings. That is why you persecuted them with denunciations to the court, for a little bit of wood shavings from the Chapter's woods, for grazing, for fishing and for interest not paid into your Chapter's bank. That is why, in co-operation with the Central State Security, you ordered priests of Polish nationality to remove without delay to Poland, occupied by the Germans, into the hands of the Nazi murderers, only so that they should leave their property, uncompensated, in your diocese.

As a loyal servant of Hitler, in his function of highest Military Cleric, the accused spared no effort in the building and strengthening of Tiso's mercenary army. In welcoming a military unit returning from the Eastern Front, he tried in his speech to persuade these soldiers, that there in the Ukraine they had been defending the frontiers of Slovakia. For this he was commended by the war criminal Tiso and was awarded with the Grand-Cross of the Order of the Slovak Cross. He went on helping the Nazi murderers even in 1944, when Hitler's fascist hordes

were already retreating before the Red Army. He instructed the believers in his diocese obediently to fulfil the orders of the Nazi Military Command. He agreed to their taking part in fortification work even on Sundays and holidays. With the same intention the accused, Vojtaššák, betrayed the fight for the liberation of the Slovak nation, when at the Bishops' Conference in Banská Bystrica at the end of August, 1944, he voted for the issuing of the notorious "Manifesto" against the Slovak National Uprising. Even after the liberation he called the members of the Uprising "a robber gang of partisans". He further aided the Nazis when, on December 27, 1944, he suggested to the priest, Ján Buken, of Liptovská Osada, that he inform the Nazis of the whereabouts of a certain group of partisans, even when he knew that to comply meant the burning down of the village where the partisans were staying and endangering the lives of the fighters for freedom.

In Autumn, 1944, when he already felt, that the days of Tiso's regime were numbered, he commanded the priest, Galan, in Ružomberok to start disruptive activity among the workers in the industrial concerns, as is proved by document 1/14. The priest Galan obeyed this order and later was sentenced by the State Court in Bratislava to eight years' imprisonment for anti-State activity.

This penal activity of the accused has all the characteristics of the indicted crime of military treason under paragraph 6, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 50/23 Sb.

The accused, Vojtaššák, never became reconciled to the defeat of Nazi Germany and the cessation of the so-called Slovak State.

After the liberation of our country in 1945 by the Soviet Army, the present People's Democratic regime, for the first time in Slovakia's political, social, economic and cultural endeavours, approached the age-old, grievous problems of the Slovak people from their basis. During the past three decades different political parties alternated in our public life. Agrarians exchanged government jobs with social reformists, authoritative masters with liberals, autonomists with centralists, Catholic, separatists, clerico-fascists with Lutheran Czechoslovaks, but none of them approached the solution of the proverbial poverty of Slovak national and social life.

During all the previous regimes two-thirds of the Slovak nation lived in humiliating want. Poverty, backwardness, unemployment,

emigration seemed to be the unchangeable fate of the majority of Slovak people. The present regime is the first in their history which denies the unchangeability of the fate of the Slovak people, shows the path to its removal and is creating the conditions for the development of a more secure, better and fuller life for all people of good-will. Signs of this new life are visible in Slovakia today: the landlords and capitalists have been deprived of their power and 100,000 small Slovak peasants have received a bigger piece of soil. By the nationalisation of banks and industry, the conditions have been created for the socialist industrialisation of Slovakia with the help of the Czech working class.

The accused, Vojtaššák, took a hostile attitude towards this life right from the beginning. In accordance with instructions from the Vatican and the Western imperialist war-mongers, he took an open stand against the new Republic and against the life interests of the overwhelming majority of the Slovak people. By the testimonies of the witnesses and by the documents submitted, it was proved that he joined in, too, with the disruptive activity of the Hlinka underground, as well as with the highly treasonable activity of the emigrés.

Here I would point to the correspondence made known between the accused, Vojtaššák, and the war-mongers and agents of Western imperialists, Sidor and Ďurčanský. As it was proved by document 2/44, and by the admission of the accused, he supported these traitors abroad, on the one hand by sending them, with the agreement of the other Bishops, the 10,000 dollars which had been collected by American Slovaks for war-shattered Slovakia, and on the other hand by smoothing out the differences between them, through the American priest, Dubosch, in order that they should work unitedly in their highly treasonable activity against the Republic.

He played an important role in the anti-State activity of the Bishops' Council in co-operation with the treacherous bourgeoisie, concealed in the former Democratic Party, which after the liberation prevented the punishing of Vojtaššák for his collaborational activities by the National Court in Bratislava, as the witness, Dr. Obtulovič, proved. He took part in the Bishops' Conference on August 22, 1945 in Bratislava, at which methods of anti-State activity were agreed on. He inflicted Church punishments on those priests who joined in any building work for the Republic.

For his anti-State activity he misused his subordinate priests, whom he forced to read out in their churches inflammatory, disruptive Pastoral letters, thus intentionally driving them to criminal deeds. In these Pastoral letters he agitated against brigades, against the revision of the Land Reform, carried out during the pre-Munich Republic, against the new law on the unified school and against the Land Reform.

After February, 1948 he feverishly participated in the organised campaign of the high Church hierarchy against the People's Democratic regime, in accordance with instructions from the Vatican. On May 8, 1948 he suspended the chaplain, Doranský, for standing for the National Assembly, although during all the previous regimes the Church had allowed, and during the fascist Slovak State had directly forced priests into political activity. Under threat of the heaviest Church penalties, he forced subordinate priests to carry out the Vatican's excommunication decrees of July, 1949, which threatened believers with excommunication for only taking part in the reconstruction of the Republic.

At the same time, according to the instructions of the Vatican agent, Verolino, he tried to organise in his diocese open revolts by the believers, among whom he sent agitators to spread untrue reports about alleged measures prepared by the government against the Church.

Finally, he took part in building an illegal, disruptive network with the help of so-called faculties, that is full powers, which the Vatican issued at the end of 1949, under strict Papal secrecy. According to these faculties the jurisdiction of the Bishops in the dioceses was transferred to a new, secret hierarchy, selected from priests most reliable to the Vatican. The accused, Vojtaššák, appointed as his deputies Vicar-general Tomanoczy and Suffragan Bishop Barnáš.

This activity of the accused corresponds to the factual substance of high treason under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 2, lit. c, sub. 2 of Act 231/48 Sb.

Apart from this, immediately after the liberation he organised an espionage network in his diocese, to gain reports which he sent to the Vatican through the Papal Internunciature in Prague and in part through Archbishop Kmeťko. In this way in 1946 he sent a secret report to the Vatican about economic and political conditions in Slovakia.

On October 16, 1948 he sent an espionage report to the Vatican, containing certain security measures in the State administration and various slanderous reports about conditions in the Republic. He also sent to the Vatican a detailed report from Dean Vojtas, containing espionage information on the Czech border region of an economic and political nature. The nature of these reports proves, that they were intended to serve the support of the war aims of the Western imperialists.

By this activity is established the factual substance of the crime of espionage under paragraph 5, sub-paragraph 1 of Act 231/48 Sb.

From the year 1910, when Vojtaššák canvassed for a Hungarian government candidate for an "economic" parish, through the period of the pre-Munich Republic, when Vojtaššák was helping the fascist Hlinka's Slovak People's Party to destroy the Republic and to drag the Slovak people into subjugation to Nazism, through the time of the fascist Tiso regime, of which the accused was an active supporter, until the last moment when he revealed himself as a criminal arch-traitor and spy, runs a path on which is inscribed "Treason, Lust for Power, Shrinking from no Baseness and Inhumanity". This path of crime led the accused up to this Courtroom.

Therefore, the severe penalty suggested in the indictment is a just one.

The next accused, Canon of the Bratislava Chapter and Suffragan Bishop,

Dr. MICHAL BUZALKA,

is an important representative of the high Church hierarchy and played a significant part in the criminal plotting against the Republic and its people.

From 1920 he was a canvasser for the Hlinkite wing of the Slovak bourgeoisie. He admits, that as the editor-responsible of the newspaper, "Slovák", he canvassed ardently for the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party and agitated against the Republic by supporting the Hlinkites' agitation for the cession of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia. He supported the treacherous and reactionary Hlinka's Slovak People's Party both during the elections in 1925 and again during the elections in 1928, and finally during the elections to the so-called Slovak Assembly, in December, 1938,

when, from the pulpit as well as by personal persuasion, he encouraged the believers to vote for the united list of candidates of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. In this critical year, after being nominated Suffragan Bishop, he wrote an article under the heading "Christ the Victor" for the Easter holiday in the newspaper "Slovenská Pravda", in which he openly sided with the Henleinist and Esterházyist disrupters of the pre-Munich Republic.

On October, 6th, 1938, together with Bishop Jantausch, he took part in the welcome of the fascist government in Slovakia.

By giving all possible support (indisputably proved during the trial) as an important Church dignitary to the separatist programme of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, the accused, Buzalka, took an active part in the destruction of the Republic.

When the Republic was destroyed in 1938 and the Slovak working people were brought under the lash of the clerico-fascist Tiso regime, the accused, Dr. Buzalka, exerted himself in the strengthening of that fascist so-called Slovak State, of which he declared in the paper "Slovák" on April 29, 1941, that its creation was God's will. He took the name of the Lord in vain when hundreds of thousands of honest sons of the Slovak nation were being sent to concentration camps because they did not agree with the occupation of Slovakia and were fighting against fascism for freedom. Meanwhile Bishop Buzalka, on the authorisation of the traitor and war criminal, Jozef Tiso, asked a blessing from the Pope on the so-called Slovak State. The Vatican, in support of Hitler's aggression, gave this blessing. Buzalka testifies about his journey to Rome as follows:

"In the year 1939, I did, in fact, travel to the Vatican, with the authorisation of Dr. Tiso. My task was to deliver a letter to the Pope, in which Tiso begged him to bestow a Papal blessing on the so-called Slovak State. I made the journey to Rome in the company of Karol Sidor, who was leaving for the Vatican as Minister of the Slovak State. During my audience with the Pope, I informed him of the general situation in Slovakia and of my ideas about the military campaign of Nazi Germany in Poland."

On the pages of "Katolícke Noviny" he preached the necessity of close collaboration with Nazi Germany against the USSR. This high Church dignitary in his hatred towards the USSR and the Slovak working people, fell so low, that in 1941, as Vatican-nominated Military Vicar to Tiso's mercenary army, he encouraged

the soldiers in the fight on the Soviet Front. He, himself, cynically admits, that in a Pastoral letter to the Slovak soldiers he wrote, that the death on the field of our soldiers was like the suffering of Christ. He misused the religious feeling of the Slovak working people in the war against the USSR so basely, that he told the soldiers that death in the battle against the USSR brought freedom to the Slovak Nation. He admits, that he continued in this criminal activity even when it was quite clear, that the Nazis would lose the war. Even after the war he tried to guide the believers to fight against every progressive movement. For his traitorous support of this plunderous war and Hitler's atrocities in the East, he earned in the last year of the war the cross of merit of "The Defence of the State". The pivot of his criminal activity, even at the time of the exploitation and enslavement of the Slovak people by the Nazis, lies in his activity as a Vatican spy.

It was proved, that in his capacity of Field-vicar to Tiso's mercenary army, through the agency of Lt.-Col. of the Clerical Service, Andrejkovič, he collected espionage reports about the political and economic conditions in the western part of the Ukraine. He regularly handed over these reports to the Chargé d'Affaires of the Vatican in Slovakia, Dr. Joseph Burzio. He, himself, testifies, that, "During his first visit to the residence at 8, Kapitulská ul., in July, 1941, Burzio said, that he had received certain instructions from the Vatican in connection with the ascertainment of the political-economic situation in the region of the western Ukraine. He supplemented his request by saying that Vatican circles with the Holy Father at the head, were interested in obtaining espionage reports from the Ukraine".

The accused used to receive regular reports for Dr. Burzio, that is the Vatican, from Lt.-Col. Andrejkovič. The witness, Andrejkovič, has also admitted, that he sent Buzalka espionage reports on the USSR for the Vatican. The content of these reports was made known in document 2/9.

These unworthy priests, the accused, Buzalka, and the witness, Andrejkovič, used to mark their correspondence, "Sub secreto quasi sigilli"—"Under the secrecy of confession". Andrejkovič used to receive instructions from Buzalka to commit the contents to memory and then to burn the letters. Buzalka further admits that he was in direct contact with the Vatican spy, Father Kellner, a graduate of the Vatican College, Russicum, the notorious

high school of Vatican espionage against the Soviet Union, who in 1940 in the company of the other Vatican agents, Novikov, Moskva and Čížek, with the authorisation of the leader of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski, passed through Slovakia to the USSR to carry out espionage there. The accused, Buzalka, testified about this activity during the trial as follows:

"Ján Kellner told me, that Vatican circles, headed by the Holy Father, were very much interested in the USSR and that the General of Jesuits, Ledóchowski, was particularly anxious that priests of his Order of the Jesuits should be sent to the USSR where they would act as spies. He told me, that he had been entrusted with the task of crossing the Soviet frontier illegally in disguise, clothed either as a peasant or a wood-cutter, and that, in the Vatican the idea was prevailing, that more similarly disguised would be travelling to the USSR. He added, that he was travelling legally through the so-called Protectorate and through Slovakia on a passport, issued to him by Sidor in the Vatican, at the request of the General of the Jesuits, Ledóchowski. Kellner had instructions to cross the frontier into western Ukraine and there, disguised if possible as a civilian employee, to travel from town to town. I advised him to change his German-sounding name to the name of Relovský."

The accused, Buzalka, used to meet also with the notorious Vatican spy, Tomislav Kolakovič, with whom he negotiated the conditions for pastoral activity in "Hard Times", that is the form of a secret clerical administration in Slovakia in the event of the arrival of the Soviet Army.

At the time when the Red Army was bleeding on the Eastern Front for the freedom of the nations attacked by the Nazi hordes, and when the Slovak people were suffering under the boot of the S.S. murderers, Bishop Buzalka made friends with the German Minister, Ludin, and other Nazi representatives in Slovakia. The character of the accused, Buzalka, is clearly painted by the fact, that long after the liberation in the year 1947 Bishop Buzalka said Mass for the executed murderer of the Slovak people, S.S. General Höffle, whom he had previously visited in prison. All this the accused quite calmly admits. What perversion!

The espionage activity of Buzalka, alternates with high treason. When the defeat of Nazi Germany already seemed unavoidable, and the best sons of the Slovak nation were preparing to implant

the decisive blow on the Nazi in Slovakia, by the Uprising against the invader, Buzalka, together with other Church dignitaries, after consultation with the Bishops in Banská Bystrica, on August 27, 1944, called on the believers to obey the orders of the fascist government apparatus in the so-called Slovak State.

Buzalka admits, "As an adherent and exponent of the policy of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, I took badly the collapse of the so-called Slovak State and the collapse of the power position of the high Church hierarchy in Slovakia". Buzalka knew, that after the glorious National Uprising and the arrival of the Red Army, and the liberation of the Slovak and Czech people, would come an end to the government of the Slovak bourgeoisie, in which he saw support for the property and power position of the high Church hierarchy. Buzalka further admits, "I took a negative attitude towards the creation of the Czechoslovak People's Democratic State, because I saw a deadly danger to our power, economic and political position. In the Košice Government Programme, particularly in the industrialisation of Slovakia, I saw a danger for the high clergy, mainly because the people would become still more and more politically conscious and we should be losing our authority over and the confidence of the people.

Buzalka quite openly reveals the aim of the high Church hierarchy: to preserve, respectively to renew, the capitalist system, at all cost. He worked precisely according to instructions from the Vatican, which he used to get from the Papal Inter-nunciature.

After the liberation Buzalka, in the same way as the other accused, continued in his criminal and espionage activity. The shed blood of the innocent victims of the Nazi terror in Slovakia and of the heroic fighters of the glorious Slovak National Uprising, did not shake this cynical criminal and his associates. With stubborn fury he stood out against the People's Democratic regime and in his aim to restore the capitalist system, he used now other methods. He admits, that he took part in conferences, that he besmeared the USSR and the other People's Democracies, from the pulpits and in talks with the believers, with the purpose of introducing confusion among the people and that he agitated against the co-operation of the individual constituents of the National Front. He knew, as he admitted earlier, that the building of Socialism in our country meant the end of the government of capital,

and, as he said, also with this, the end of the vast property of the high clergy, and, therefore, he aimed his criminal activity at the disruption of the building efforts in our country, by agitating against Socialism, industrialisation of Slovakia and the co-operative movement in the villages.

He did not cease this criminal activity of his even after February, 1948. In accordance with the general line of the Vatican, on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists, he intensified still more his disruptive activity. When the Hungarian working people justly settled accounts with the traitor and spy, Cardinal Mindszenty, Buzalka misused this trial for the disruptive purposes of our reaction. In connection with this he admits, "I intensified my activity against the People's Democratic regime in Czechoslovakia, in 1949 after the condemnation of Cardinal Mindszenty. I concealed the crime, which he had committed on the Hungarian working people and I tried to rehabilitate the person of Mindszenty in the eyes of the Catholic believers and to persuade them that Mindszenty had been innocently and unjustly sentenced."

The accused, Buzalka, joined in very actively with the agitation of the high Church hierarchy, in issuing, reading and spreading disruptive Pastoral letters and with the attack by the Vatican on the government by means of the excommunication decrees. He agitated and canvassed against the regenerated Catholic Action and he actively joined the ranks of the disruptors of the many attempts by the government to bring about an agreement between the State and the Church.

The accused, Buzalka, as a professional and eminent agent of the Vatican espionage service, continued even after the liberation his espionage activity. From the year 1946 until his arrest, he maintained contact with the treacherous group of the war-criminal and traitor, Ďurčanský. He established contact with him through the employees of the Austrian Consulate-General in Bratislava, Karol Rainoch and Anna Bárová. As in a chain of other trials, also in this trial, we are witnessing the infamous assistance given by organs of foreign Missions to the highly treasonable activity against our State. Buzalka in his statement said, that he used to receive through their employees from abroad various inflammatory printed matter, illegal newspapers, and bulletins published abroad by the treacherous group of Ďurčanský. He circulated this inflammatory printed matter among our people. Through Rainoch

and Bárová he sent abroad various espionage reports, concerning political and economic conditions in Slovakia.

In the year 1947 he established espionage contact with another traitor of the Slovak people, Karol Sidor, former Minister of the so-called Slovak State in Rome, now a war-hound in the pay of the Anglo-American imperialists. He maintained contact with this venal agent through the student, Jaško, and he sent directly to him espionage reports of a political and economic nature. Jaško personally reported to Buzalka about negotiations with Sidor and passed on to him Sidor's further instructions on disruptive activity.

Buzalka carried on a particularly dangerous espionage activity with the already sentenced spy, Dr. Štefan Uhrín. Uhrín was in contact with other agents who had infiltrated into our State apparatus and particularly into one regional key Ministry. Uhrín passed on very important, secret reports, acquired from there, to Buzalka who through Rainoch and Bárová sent them abroad.

On the request of the traitor, Durčanský, he filled in and sent abroad an espionage questionnaire of four pages, delivered to him by Bárová, which contained questions concerning political and economic conditions in Slovakia. These espionage reports were delivered by Rainoch, respectively by Bárová, via Vienna to Durčanský's treacherous group and to the Papal Nunciature in Vienna. Buzalka, according to his own confession, sent espionage reports also to the employee of the Prague Internunciature, Zmrzlík.

Buzalka fully admits this espionage activity. This admission was supported also by the moving testimony of the witness, Bárová, and by the witness, Uhrín. Bárová testified, "As a secretary in the Austrian Consulate-General in Bratislava from 1946 I helped at the request of Michal Buzalka in Bratislava his espionage activity in favour of the Vatican and the Western espionage service".

Bárová brokenly admitted, "I became the victim of a crime. He did not care whether I lost my job and he exploited my weakness".

In the testimony of Bárová Buzalka's base character was unmasked, how he had ruthlessly exploited this woman for his espionage activity.

The confession of the accused, the clear and convincing testimonies of the witnesses and the documents laid before the Court, fully prove the guilt of the accused, Bishop Buzalka. In the

activity of the accused lies the factual substance of the crime of plotting against the Republic under paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs 1 and 4 of Act no. 50/23 Sb. In the same way Buzalka's guilt of the crime of military treason is proved under paragraph 6, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 50/23 Sb. Also indisputably proved was the guilt of the accused, Bishop Buzalka, of the crime of high treason under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 1, lit. c and sub-paragraph 3, lit. e of Act no. 231/48 Sb. and of the crime of espionage under paragraph 5, sub-paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 2, lit. a and d of the above Act.

The accused, Buzalka, appears here as one of the most active participants in the highly treasonable plotting. He is the type of dishonourable spy to whom nothing is sacred. He had nothing in common with the people whom he consistently betrayed. He stooped in his criminal activity to becoming the infamous assistant to the Anglo-American mongers of a new world war. Therefore, the heavy punishment, suggested in the indictment, will be a just reward for his criminal activity.

THE ACCUSED, PAVOL GOJDIČ,

Bishop of the former Greek Catholic Church, right from the beginning misused his high Church function for the destruction of the Republic and he developed this criminal activity in full measure in the services of Nazi Germany, during the so-called Slovak State. He is one of the most repulsive participants in the highly treasonable plotting of the high Church hierarchy for the disruption of the People's Democratic order.

As he, himself, confessed, the accused, Gojdič, already in the pre-Munich Republic joined the anti-State and anti-Soviet front of the Ukrainian fascists, whose aim it was, on the one hand, to destroy the unity of the Republic, on the other hand, to help to realise the secular endeavours of the Vatican in the East, to oust the Orthodox Church by the Uniat Church and thus to extend the power position of the Vatican to the East. The accused, Gojdič, saw the realisation of these aims in the establishment of the so-called Slovak State and therefore, he whole-heartedly threw himself into the service of the Tiso clerico-fascist regime,

he developed a big support for it and to this end, according to his own confession, issued a whole chain of Pastoral letters.

He co-operated ardently with the Nazi chieftains, particularly with Dr. Kolb, official of the German Consulate in Prešov, with the leader of the Germans in Slovakia, Karmasin, and with the German Minister, Ludin, all of whom highly appreciated his unconditionally positive attitude to Nazism. At the time of the attack on the Soviet Union he gave himself unreservedly into the services of Nazism and became an ardent tool of German imperialism, thus acting at the same time in the interests of the policy of the Vatican, which saw in the aggression of Hitler's Germany against the USSR, the longed-for open path to the East. The standpoint of the high Greek Catholic hierarchy at that time is expressed in a letter which the Provincial of the Order of the Basilians, Sabol, wrote to Gojdič and which is now among the files of the State Court in Prague, in the criminal case against Pavel Hučko and co. In this letter Sabol writes among other things, "When the path to the East is opened, we shall abandon our positions here and proceed to the Ukraine."

To this end Gojdič at the request of the German Military Command, called upon all the priests in his diocese to volunteer for the Ukraine, temporarily occupied by the Nazis, where, under the cloak of priestly tasks, they would carry out espionage for the Nazis. The accused, Gojdič, fully admitted this activity, calling it cynically "mission work". It is not to his credit that this criminal activity of his did not meet with success among the ordinary priests, for, according to his own admission, the lower clergy refused to take part in such, in Gojdič's own words—"distasteful work". It was shown that Gojdič, in his highly treasonable activity, became completely isolated from the masses of the lower clergy, who remained loyal to the people and their aspirations. The working people at that time saw in the Soviet Union, their only hope and guarantee for their freedom and, right in the region of Gojdič's former diocese, they developed a strong partisan movement and started an heroic fight against the Nazi invaders. When the victorious Red Army drove the Nazi hordes out of the occupied Ukraine and with them fled before the wrath of their own people, also the collaborationist and murderous bands of Ukrainian fascists, the accused, Gojdič, rendered these criminal elements all possible help and support.

Either he placed them in Slovakia or he helped them in their further flight to the West. He made various collections for their benefit and he accepted from the fascist German Military Command 150,000 crowns as a Judas reward for having fought at the side of the Nazis against the USSR. At the same time he deceived his own believers that they were refugees for religious reasons and appealed to them to support these traitors in every way. According to his own confession, he collected from these traitors espionage reports about the political, economic and military situation in the USSR and he sent these reports at the end of 1944 through the Internunciature in Bratislava to the Vatican. According to his own confession, Gojdič maintained from as early as 1942 espionage contact with the Vatican spy, Dr. Kolakovič, and gave him a list of priests and laymen, whom he regarded as reliable for espionage activity.

According to his own confession, Gojdič continued in his espionage and disruptive activity with particular ardour after the liberation. These crimes of his are only a sequel to his clearly fascist standpoint of an earlier time and to the policy of the Vatican which is connected with today's Anglo-American heirs to Hitler's Nazism. He organised in his diocese first of all a centre of interception for the Ukrainian terrorists. By means of a secret courier, he sent a message to Poland, that all priests and laymen, who, because of their anti-State activity had to leave Poland, should report to him and thus he created in his diocese a centre of terrorists. He filled positions in Slovak parishes with those priests who, in the service of German fascists, had betrayed their own nation, and who were members of the terrorist organisations OUN and UPA. So, wilfully and intentionally, he created a criminal and terrorist network in Slovakia with the aim of disrupting the Republic.

In order to facilitate the journey to the West of those criminals who wanted to flee, he appointed in Prague at 1, Karlova ul. the priest Pavel Hučko, a Banderite, whom he entrusted with this task and for this purpose he gave him blank official forms, complete with his own signature and seal. Hučko then, in accordance with Gojdič's instructions, filled in these forms for the Banderite criminals who came to him and he appointed them as priests in various border parishes in Bohemia and Moravia. In order that Hučko could perfect the organisation of this acti-

vity, Gojdič sent to him as his assistant in this criminal activity the leader of the Banderite gangs in Czechoslovakia, Rehor Buranič, whom he issued with a false certificate confirming that he was a student of theology, thus ensuring for him safe and unhindered movements about the territory of Czechoslovakia. Buranič and Hučko together in this way organised an illegal passage abroad for the Banderite murderers right up to the time of the discovery of this Banderite centre in Prague.

Gojdič admitted all this activity during the trial and apart from this, he was convicted of it by the testimonies of the witnesses, Hučko and Buranič, and by the documents laid before the Court, nos. 3/1, 3/2 and 3/3.

In accordance with Gojdič's instructions, Hučko started in Prague a mass production of false documents, by means of which the Banderite terrorists elicited even documents stating Czechoslovak citizenship. Apart from this, Gojdič ordered his subordinate priests to falsify entries in the Parish registers and to issue the Banderite criminals with false Birth and Marriage Certificates. In questionnaires issued by the Institute for Czechoslovaks Abroad, Gojdič stated, contrary to the truth, that these terrorists were reliable persons and that he guaranteed for them, despite the fact that he knew of their criminal activity and that he was helping them in their criminal activity.

This criminal activity of Gojdič was indisputably proved during the trial by document no. 3/4, containing six questionnaires from the Institute for Czechoslovaks Abroad in Prague, completed with false data, in accordance with Gojdič's plan.

Apart from this, Gojdič issued false certificates proving reliability, also to other persons, in spite of the fact that he knew of their inimical attitude to the People's Democratic Republic, as proved among other things by document 3/2, in which Gojdič confirmed that he accepted full responsibility for Ján Németh, that he would remain loyal to Czechoslovakia in the U.S. for where he was leaving, in spite of the fact that he knew, that it concerned a Horthy fascist.

When our security organs proceeded gradually to liquidate these Banderite criminal gangs, Gojdič tried even at that stage to render them every possible assistance. By intervention with the constitutional representatives and even on the international forum, he tried to present these measures taken to render these

criminals harmless, as a tendacious action against the Greek Catholic Church, and by his intervention he enabled these criminals and terrorists safely to flee to the West, where the Western imperialists had already prepared for them in Munich an interception and training centre. Gojdič purposely sent these criminal gangs to the American Occupation Zone in Germany to become there the welcome mercenaries of the Anglo-American instigators of a new war and in doing so he, himself, became a direct assistant to those war-mongers.

Gojdič admitted this activity during the trial and he was convicted of it also among other things by document no. 3/16, (intervention of Gojdič with Dr. Beneš and the Commissioner for Home Affairs, Ferjenčík), further by document 3/6, (Gojdič's letter to Dr. Stuchlíková, employee of the Catholic Charity whom he asked to intervene in favour of Banderites in custody, and about one of them, named Prišlák, he writes, "...would you be good enough to intervene ... in the case of our very worthy, and indispensable dean, Prišlák... it's the undermining work of the enemies of the Catholic Church, for whom the very Reverend Prišlák was a thorn in the flesh ...").

In his hatred and his agitation against the Republic, Gojdič went even so far as to lodge memorandum with the International Red Cross, in favour of the Banderite murderers, despite the fact that he knew about their robberies and murders.

Gojdič bears full responsibility for the proved participation in the Banderites' crimes.

From the files of the case against Ivan Klisz and co. at the Regional Court in Bratislava and from the files of the case against Pavel Hučko and co., at the State Court in Prague, it has been ascertained that the network of the terrorist organisation UPA, since the end of 1945 supported by the Western imperialists, carried out continuous armed attacks in eastern Slovakia. On November 23, 1945 the community of Zboj was raided and sacked, on the same day two members of the Communist Party of Slovakia were murdered in Novosedlice and another citizen was abducted, on December 6, 1945 in the community of Ulič four persons were murdered and in Kolbasovo eleven persons were murdered. The Banderite gangs were given refuge in eastern Slovakia in some cases with the co-operation of Greek Catholic priests, in other cases on a hint or sometimes even on direct

and explicit instructions from Gojdič. Before the elections in 1946 they forced the citizens by means of armed terror to vote for the Democratic Party. At the end of 1946 they plundered Novosedlice. In Blatnice in 1947 they attacked the station of the National Security Corps, murdered one member of the National Security Corps, his wife and his little daughter. The accused, Gojdič, admitted, that he knew of these vile crimes of the Banderite gangs and his cynicism could be seen in the whole of its vileness at the moment when, during the trial, he was confronted with a photograph of victims of these murders, for which Gojdič, too, is jointly responsible, and he made no other remark to it than an unfeeling, "I observe it".

Gojdič further admitted, that he construed from these Banderite terrorists a network of espionage, that from all of them he collected espionage reports about the economic and political situation in Poland and in the USSR, that he sent these espionage reports regularly to Hučko and through him to the Internunciature in Prague and to the Vatican. He sent such reports apart from through these channels also through Sabol. He, himself, passed espionage reports to internuncios, Forni and Sensi, on his occasional visits to Prague.

Gojdič's espionage activity was not confined only to the benefit of the Vatican. According to his own admission, Gojdič regularly sent espionage reports, gained from the Banderites, as well as his own slanderous reports about conditions in the Republic, directly to the agents of the Western imperialists, mainly to members of the so-called American charitable missions, particularly to Sullivan, to the leader of the action CARE, Robertson and to the American journalist known under the name of Troughton.

As a proof of the professional criminality with which Gojdič carried out this espionage, I quote as an example document no. 3/8, that is, a letter from Gojdič to Hučko, in which Gojdič among other things writes, "Could I trouble you to take the enclosed letters to the Apostolic Nunciature, but do not delay in this matter, because we are in danger."

Gojdič proved his inveterate hatred towards the People's Democratic regime already in 1945 by prohibiting by means of a circular letter all political activity on the part of the priests of his diocese, and this he did on his own initiative, half a year

before the high Church hierarchy prohibited political activity on the part of all priests in Slovakia. In his official bulletin of December, 1945, (document no. 3/12), Gojdič says, "I repeatedly and most emphatically prohibit all the very reverend priests from taking part in any party politics." Gojdič's true aim by this prohibition was to prevent the priests from taking part in constructional efforts at the side of the working people, because, according to Gojdič's own admission during the trial, this prohibition applied only in cases where progressive priests wanted to stand as candidates for the Communist Party of Slovakia, but whenever a priest asked for an exception to be made to this prohibition, for political activity in favour of the Democratic Party, Gojdič willingly granted his request.

Gojdič, himself, very eagerly established contact with the reactionary Democratic Party, especially in the election campaign in 1946, and developed an all-round propaganda for this party, in which he rightly saw an instrument for the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. In close co-operation with the then Minister, Dr. Pietor, and Deputy Ursíny he called upon the believers of his diocese to vote for the Democratic Party. He ordered the priests to canvass in favour of this disruptive party and he did not even shrink from recommending the believers to co-operate with the Banderite murderers. The venal character of Gojdič is exemplified by the fact, established during the trial, that he received for services rendered to the Democratic Party, a private car from Dr. Pietor and 250,000 crowns from the then Commissioner, Mr. Styk.

Gojdič continued his anti-State, disruptive activity, even after the elections, uninterruptedly until his arrest. Encountering in the high Church hierarchy the same hatred as he, himself, felt towards the People's Democratic regime, he took part in every Bishops' Conference, because at these conferences, with the active participation of Gojdič, all forms and methods of carrying out disruptive and highly treasonable activity were discussed and decided upon. According to directions resolved on there, he drafted and issued inflammatory and disruptive Pastoral letters, spread illegal inflammatory leaflets and Pastoral letters, delivered to him by secret messengers, and forced his priests to read out this disruptive, illegal printed matter in their churches to the believers. In spite of every effort which Gojdič made in

this respect to influence his subordinate priests, he did not meet with the expected results, for the lower clergy in its overwhelming majority refused to listen to its treacherous Bishop. The accused, Gojdič, admitted and in addition was convicted by the testimony of witness Alois Zmrzlik, that when reproached by Verolino for alleged insufficient ardour, he had stressed, that he was doing everything possible, but that the lower clergy was not supporting him.

In the trial of Bishop Zela and co. before the State Court in Prague, it was established and proved that this visit of Verolino and his visits at this time to all the other Slovak Bishops, was part of an organised plot by the Vatican to disrupt our People's Democratic order.

Gojdič proved his initiative in criminal, anti-State activity again at the time when the cup of his crimes was full and he already felt that he would be arrested for his crimes. At that time—it was at the beginning of 1949—he secretly nominated, in case of his arrest, not less than five deputies from the most reliable adherents of the Vatican policy, from the proved enemies of the Republic and the people. These successors were to continue one after the other in line with Gojdič's highly treasonable intentions and deeds. Gojdič thus created a secret, illegal network in his diocese to carry on his criminal, disruptive activity even after his being rendered ineffective. Gojdič made this arrangement half a year before the Vatican issued its notorious secret faculties which followed the same disruptive aims. Gojdič fully admitted also this activity.

The activity of the accused was indisputably proved by the testimonies of the witnesses, by the presented documents and also by the confession of the accused, who committed by these deeds the crime of military treason under paragraph 6, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 50/23 Sb., the crime of high treason under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 1, lit. c, sub-paragraph 2 and sub-paragraph 3, lit. a of Act no. 231/48 Sb., the crime of espionage under paragraph 5, sub-paragraphs 1 and 2 of Act no. 231/48 Sb.

The accused, Gojdič, was revealed as an inveterate, cold-blooded trickster and a cynical enemy of the People's Democratic order, a mercenary of the Vatican and of the Western war-mongers, to whom the interests of his country and the interests of the working

people, always were and always remained foreign. The vileness of his crimes demands the heaviest penalty, as suggested in the indictment.

Such was the criminal activity of the accused, Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, of the accused who inscribed on their arms the motto, "Pax Romana"! The Roman peace, the Vatican peace, the peace which rightly should be called "Pax Americana". It is the peace of military graveyards, the peace of burned-down villages and towns, the peace of ruins, of mass graves and alleys of hanged. Of such a peace and of such a war criminals such as these who sit in front of us, are dreaming. But our people do not desire that kind of peace. That is why you, the accused Vojtaššák, Buzalka and Gojdič, are sitting here deserted both by the believers and the clergy.

Honourable members of the State Court!

In the name of justice, in the name of the people building a new happier life, in the name of all who are fighting for peace, I demand:

That your verdict be a just reward for the crimes of the accused; that it show, that the Slovak and Czech working people will never allow any one at any time and by any means to rob them of their hard-won freedom and that, bound to the front of hundred and hundred millions of fighters for peace, they are resolved to destroy the breeding-ground of the agents of a new imperialist war.

I believe that your verdict, too, will contribute to the final victory of peace over war.

President: Thank you, Mr. Prosecutor. I now interrupt the session.

The Speeches of the Counsels for the Defence

President: I declare open again the interrupted session and call on Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Štefan Král, representing the accused, Ján Vojtaššák.

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Král: Honourable members of the Court! The State Prosecutor accuses my client, the accused Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, of the crime of plotting against the Republic and the crime of espionage.

I declare that the factual situation alleged in the indictment has been fully proved by the statement of Bishop Ján Vojtaššák as well as by the statements of the jointly accused Bishops and by the other evidential material, produced during the trial. I consider it also my duty to state that this factual situation exhausts the legal factual substance of the indicted criminal deeds, both from the subjective point of view and from the objective point of view.

Therefore, honourable members of the State Court, in the case of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, I shall deal mainly with the question of the degree of the punishment. In my opinion while trying to solve this question, it is necessary to evaluate correctly the role executed by the Vatican and the high Church hierarchy in creating the present international situation. I am convinced that the honourable members of the State Court, while considering the mentioned factors in the given concrete case, will examine also the question of hierarchial seniority and subordination of Church functionaries in the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally, I beg the honourable members of the Court thoroughly to

examine the question of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák's, confession of the criminal deeds which the indictment lays down as his guilt.

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Štefan Král, then elucidated the role of the Vatican, who had joined the side of the Western imperialists, and then he said:

When we look at the matter with this in mind, the motives of the criminal activity of the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, take shape. It is clear, that the accused, Ján Vojtaššák, who for decades held the function of a high Church dignitary and who was an eminent representative of the high Church hierarchy, acted in the sense of the intentions and orders of his superior authorities and when thus in this work of his, he came into conflict with his duties as a citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, he did not fulfil, but on the contrary, violated his civil duties as a citizen of Czechoslovakia. He did this because he wrongly comprehended the significance of the function of a Bishop and he did this because he unreservedly worked according to the intentions of the policy of the Vatican and of the high Church hierarchy and did not take into consideration the interests of the working people, from whom he sprang.

I have already said, that the criminal activity of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, was proved as laid down in the indictment. Allow me to remark that the ascertainment of the true factual situation was to no small extent assisted both by the confession of the accused to the criminal deeds listed as his guilt, and by the fact, that all the written material concerning his criminal activity was found in his flat.

From what I have pointed out, in my opinion it follows, that in the case of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, the honourable members of the State Court when meting out the punishment, must bear in mind the extenuating circumstances in the sense of point d) and point h) of paragraph 21 of the Criminal Act.

President: Thank you. I call upon Counsel for the Defence for Suffragan Bishop, Dr. Buzalka, Dr. Vojtech Rampášek.

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Rampášek: Honourable members of the State Court! The activity and the deeds of the accused enumerated in the indictment, have been admitted by the

accused, Dr. Buzalka. The accused admitted this activity of his already during the preparatory investigation. From this it is evident that the accused, Dr. Buzalka, really made a full, sincere and repentant confession in the course of the investigation and also here before the honourable Tribunal in public, and admitted all his guilt.

The Counsel for the Defence after characterising the criminal activity of the accused, continued:

Honourable members of the Court! It is my task to point out that with regard to the extenuating circumstances, which exist, the absolute punishment would be too severe, and I beg the honourable members of the State Court to impose on my client the punishment of deprivation of liberty. Of the extenuating circumstances, I have already mentioned full, sincere and repentant confession. I have to remind you of further extenuating circumstances, that is, the service subordination, the canonic obedience of the accused to his superior authorities. From his biography, which is in his file, I have found out that the accused, Dr. Buzalka, comes from a worker's family, whose father was a miner and came from a poor family of many members. Already as a boy of ten years he came to the Piarists. In fact, from his tenth year he wasn't in his parents' house, he was not in contact with the outside world, he did not read any newspapers and literature, other than those which his superiors put into his hands. Therefore, in fact, he did not know about the true life. I think that his long education in the monastery bore fruit, in that he later lost his capacity for resistance and lost contact with the working people, forgot his origin. I beg the honourable members of the Court to take this into consideration.

President: Thirdly, Counsel for the Defence, for the accused Bishop Pavol Gojdič, Dr. Ivan Ottlyk will speak.

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Ivan Ottlyk: Honourable members of the State Court. In a criminal process where the Prosecution produced so many convicting proofs, as in this trial, that it succeeded in proving the indictment on all points so perfectly, that the accused confessed everything, the defence is very difficult. To a layman it might seem even superfluous. But against this layman opinion it is necessary to stress, that our

People's Democratic order does not hunger and strive for revenge after the committing of a criminal deed but, after the just consideration of the criminal deed, it is concerned with reform. Therefore, the People's Democratic legal system provides even the most hopeless cases with an obligatory defence.

Therefore, honourable members of the State Court, my task consists of relating in favour of my client, Bishop Pavol Gojdič, what good can be extracted from the evidential material.

How did the accused, Pavol Gojdič, fall into this morass—as the State Prosecutor rightly said in his excellent analysis—into this morass of criminal deeds? Pavol Gojdič comes from a clerical family. His grandfather, too, was a priest. The whole of his education at home and later on in the Seminary was such, that from childhood he imbibed unlimited discipline. The surroundings in which he lived and the reserve with which he worked, for he did not contact people, altogether he did not notice people,—one must be aware of all this, honourable members of the Court, if one wishes correctly to judge the conflict which my client, Pavol Gojdič, got himself into with the criminal acts. From all this follows his strong determination of will, such that he unreservedly obeyed the Vatican and did not find the way to the People's Democracy. This of course does not justify his deeds, but I want only to point out the motivation of my client's criminal deeds.

Counsel for the Defence, Dr. Ivan Ottlyk, then recalled, that his client during the so-called Slovak State gave protection to persons persecuted for racial reasons, further that he had confessed repentantly to his criminal activity and that at the time when the accused collaborated with the Banderites, even the representatives of the then Democratic Party, Lettrich and others, acted similarly, which gave him added courage in this matter—and finally suggested that the State Court classify the activity of the accused, Pavol Gojdič, where high treason is concerned, not according to legal provisions, suggested by the State Prosecutor, but according to milder provisions of paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs 1 and 2 and also where paragraph 5 is concerned, according to sub-paragraph 1 of Act For the Defence of the People's Democratic Republic.

President: Thank you. This ends the speeches of Counsels for the Defence.

The Last Words of the Accused

President: The accused have the right to speak before the Court retires for consultation. Does the accused, Bishop Vojtaššák, wish to avail himself of this right?

Vojtaššák: Yes, I do.

(The accused steps forward.)

Honourable members of the Court! I have been allowed to say a concluding word. Of this permission, of this opportunity, I wish to avail myself, and I will speak very briefly. I would add to the proceedings against me by saying, that I recognise and admit, that I committed crimes against the People's Democratic Republic, against the People's Democratic regime. I regret, that I committed these crimes and I beg the honourable members of the State court, that when considering the punishment they should bear in mind, the possibility of giving me enough time in which to make good these crimes.

President: Does the Suffragan Bishop, Dr. Michal Buzalka, wish to avail himself of the right to a last word?

Buzalka: Yes, Mr. President.

(The accused steps forward.)

Honourable members of the Court! I admit and to the full extent confirm, that as a high Church dignitary, I misused my high position and the religious feeling of the people. This is all the more condemnable, because forgetting my class origin as a son of a worker, and a member of the Slovak nation, I did not

endeavour to educate it in the way of brotherly love, peace and concord as Christ's teaching preaches. Although I had opportunities to do so, I did not do so. My interests, material interests, the political power interests of the Church hierarchy crossed with the interests of the working people and I, being somehow struck down and carried away by the whirl of world events, joined the side of the war-mongers of the Western capitalist world, the world of the wealthy and the exploiter, carrying out ardently the political and espionage orders of the Vatican. I estranged myself from my people and sowing among them like dragon's teeth, seeds of malice, discord, anger and hatred, I turned to those unhappy men who never wished good to the Slovak nation and who always hazarded its life, unscrupulously only for their own ends, for their material position. When today I have to account for my political husbandry before the Slovak working people, I see that I horribly miscalculated. Indeed, I not only acted wrongly but even very vilely, not listening to the voice of the believers and the workers, that is, of the working people, of whom we rightly say that theirs is the voice of God. Deafening myself sometimes, I admit, to the echoes of my better conscience and the promptings of my heart, I continued in my criminal activity further, so far, that I fell to the depths of base treason. Therefore, the punishment which will be inflicted on me will be a just and fitting one.

Fervently I beg our working people to forgive me for injuring them with my bad example and my crimes, and thwarting their building efforts. Finally, I beg the honourable members of the State Court to give me the possibility at least partly to atone for the committed evil.

President: Does the accused, Pavol Gojdič, wish to avail himself of his right to a last word?

Gojdič: Yes.

(The accused steps forward.)

Honourable members of the State Court! I have repeatedly admitted repentantly, that I many times wronged the People's Democratic regime and the working people of our Czechoslovak Republic. I did this in my blindness and in my prejudice towards everything progressive and socialist. Please blame my upbringing for my standpoint. You have heard already from the lips of my

Defender, that I come from a family of priests. I was educated forty-five to fifty years ago, at the time when all my superiors, Church as well as worldly, presented to us everything which was socialistic as being the greatest evil and the greatest misfortune for the people. So I have lived under this influence until now and only now have I had the opportunity and time to meditate on these questions and to revise my attitude towards the People's Democratic regime. I arrived at the conclusion and conviction, that I really very much sinned and betrayed. Our People's Democratic Government has improved the standard of life of our working people. Unfortunately, the Vatican's diplomacy does not see all this and with all its weight leans towards the capitalist states which are preparing a new war. I regret, that I, too, by my activity was assisting in this.

Finally, I can only say, that all that I did, I did on the orders of my superiors.

Will you take all these circumstances into your kind consideration, and give me the opportunity to atone for all the crimes committed against the People's Democratic regime.

President: As the accused have pronounced their last words, today's session is closed. The Court will now withdraw for consultation about the verdict. The verdict will be announced on Monday, January 15, at eight o'clock in the morning.

THE VERDICT

The Fifth Day of the Trial

At eight o'clock in the morning the Senate of the State Court enters the Court-room.

President: I declare open again the interrupted public trial of the accused, Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, Suffragan Bishop ThDr. Michal Buzalka and Bishop Pavol Gojdič. Stand and hear now

the Verdict

In the Name of the Republic!

The State Court in Bratislava announced on 15th January, 1951 the following verdict:

The accused:

Ján Vojtaššák, born on 14th November, 1877 in Zakamenné, Bishop, last address in Spišské Podhradie, Spiš chapter,

ThDr. Michal Buzalka, born on 18th September, 1885 in Svätý Anton, Suffragan Bishop, last address 8, Kapitulská ul., Bratislava,

Pavol Gojdič, born on 17th July, 1888, in Ruské Pekľany, Greek Catholic Bishop, last address 1, Stalinova ul., Prešov,

all now in custody.

are guilty of:

(1) the accused, *Ján Vojtaššák* and *ThDr. Michal Buzalka*, especially from the year 1938 to the middle of 1939, in Bratislava and elsewhere, of attempting to change the constitution of the Re-

public, in particularly aggravating circumstances, particularly where it concerned the independence, unity and the democratic form of the State,

all the accused

(2) during the war, in the years 1939—44, in Slovakia and elsewhere, in particularly aggravating circumstances, of procuring advantages for the enemy,

(3) in the time from the year 1945 until their arrest, in Spišské Podhradie, Bratislava, Prešov and elsewhere, of allying themselves together and to other persons, in an attempt to destroy the People's Democratic regime of the Republic, guaranteed by the constitution, and for this purpose of forming direct contact with a foreign power, during which the accused, ThDr. Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič committed acts in particularly aggravating circumstances,

(4) at the same time and in the same places, of allying themselves together and to other persons, for the purpose of gaining State secrets, with the intention of betraying them to a foreign power, and to this end of establishing direct contact with a foreign power and actually betraying the State secrets, the accused, ThDr. Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič, having committed these crimes over a lengthy period of time, on an extensive scale and in a particularly dangerous manner, the crime of the accused, ThDr. Michal Buzalka, being concerned with a State secret of special importance.

Thus,

the accused, *Ján Vojtaššák* and *ThDr. Michal Buzalka*, committed

ad (1) the crime of plotting against the Republic under paragraph 1, sub-paragraphs 1 and 4 of Act no. 50/23 Sb.,

all the accused committed

ad (2) the crime of military treason according to paragraph 6, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 50/23 Sb.,

ad (3) the crime of high treason under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 1, lit. c, sub-paragraph 2, and the accused, *ThDr. Michal Buzalka* and *Pavol Gojdič*, also under sub-paragraph 3, lit. e of Act no. 231/48 Sb.,

ad (4) the crime of espionage under paragraph 5, sub-para-

graph 1 of Act no. 231/48 Sb., the accused, *Pavol Gojdič*, also under sub-paragraph 2, lit. e, and the accused, *ThDr. Michal Buzalka*, also according to sub-paragraph 2, lit. e, d of the same Act.

The sentences therefor are:

(i) The accused, *Ján Vojtaššák*, under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 231/48 Sb., in connection with paragraphs 90, 96, 99 of Act article V/1878, to be deprived of his freedom for 24 years.

Apart from imprisonment, under paragraph 47 of the cited Act, a fine is imposed of 500,000 crowns, under paragraph 48 of the cited Act, all his property is confiscated and under paragraph 52 of the cited Act he loses his honourable citizen's rights.

(ii) The accused, *ThDr. Michal Buzalka*, under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 3, Act no. 231/48 Sb. in connection with paragraphs 96, 99 of Act article V/1878, paragraph 113, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 319/48 Sb., to be deprived of his freedom for life.

Apart from imprisonment, under paragraph 47 of the cited Act, a fine is imposed of 200,000 crowns, under paragraph 48 of the cited Act, all his property is confiscated and under paragraph 52 of the cited Act he loses his honourable citizen's rights.

(iii) The accused, *Pavol Gojdič*, under paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 3 of Act no. 231/48 Sb. in connection with paragraphs 96, 99 of Act article V/1878 and paragraph 113, sub-paragraph 1 of Act no. 319/48 Sb., to be deprived of his freedom for life.

Apart from imprisonment, under paragraph 47 of the cited Act, a fine is imposed of 200,000 crowns, under paragraph 48 of the cited Act, all his property is confiscated and under paragraph 52 of the cited Act, he loses his honourable citizen's rights.

The loss of qualification to gain rights mentioned in paragraph 52, sub-paragraph 2, lit. b of Act no. 231/48 Sb., to end when a length of time, which in the case of all the accused under sub-paragraph 3 of the cited paragraph, is fixed at ten years, has elapsed after the serving of the sentence, or prescription.

Under paragraph 23 of Act no. 86/1950 Sb. the time spent by all the accused in custody until the verdict becomes lawful, will be counted in the sentence of deprivation of freedom.

The main sentence was determined as in the kind of deprivation of freedom, with regard to paragraph 309 and 18, sub-paragraph 1, lit. b of Act no. 86/1950 Sb.

After the announcement of the verdict, to the question of the President of the Senate, Ján Vojtaššák declared, that he accepted the punishment; Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič asked for the legal term of three days to decide.

President: I declare the public trial of Ján Vojtaššák, Michal Buzalka and Pavol Gojdič closed.

Explanatory Notes

OUN and *UPA*—are fascist terrorist organisations, created towards the end of the war by Hitler's retreating armies on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine. These bands had illegally to continue the fight against the USSR.

Banderites—military units of the above mentioned organisations. Their name is derived from their former leader, Bandera.

Andrej Hlinka—a Slovak Roman Catholic priest, leader of the political party which was named after him, *Hlinka's Slovak People's Party*. This clerico-fascist party stood for the interests of the high Church hierarchy and joined Henlein's Nazis and the Hungarian big land-owners' party for the disruption of the Czechoslovak Republic at the time of Munich. During the so-called Slovak State, Hlinka's Slovak People's Party was the only party allowed. Hlinka died in 1938 and the leadership of the party was taken over by Tiso, who later became President of the so-called Slovak State. After the liberation Tiso was tried as a traitor by the National Court in Bratislava and sentenced to death.

Hlinka Guard and *Hlinka Youth*—organisations created during the so-called Slovak State on the model of the German S.S. troops and Hitler's Youth.

Aryanisation—the making "Aryan" of Jewish property, i.e. the buying of property belonging to Jews, transported to concentration camps, by non-Jews, for a purely nominal amount. This practice was common wherever the Nazis or their satellites were ruling.

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